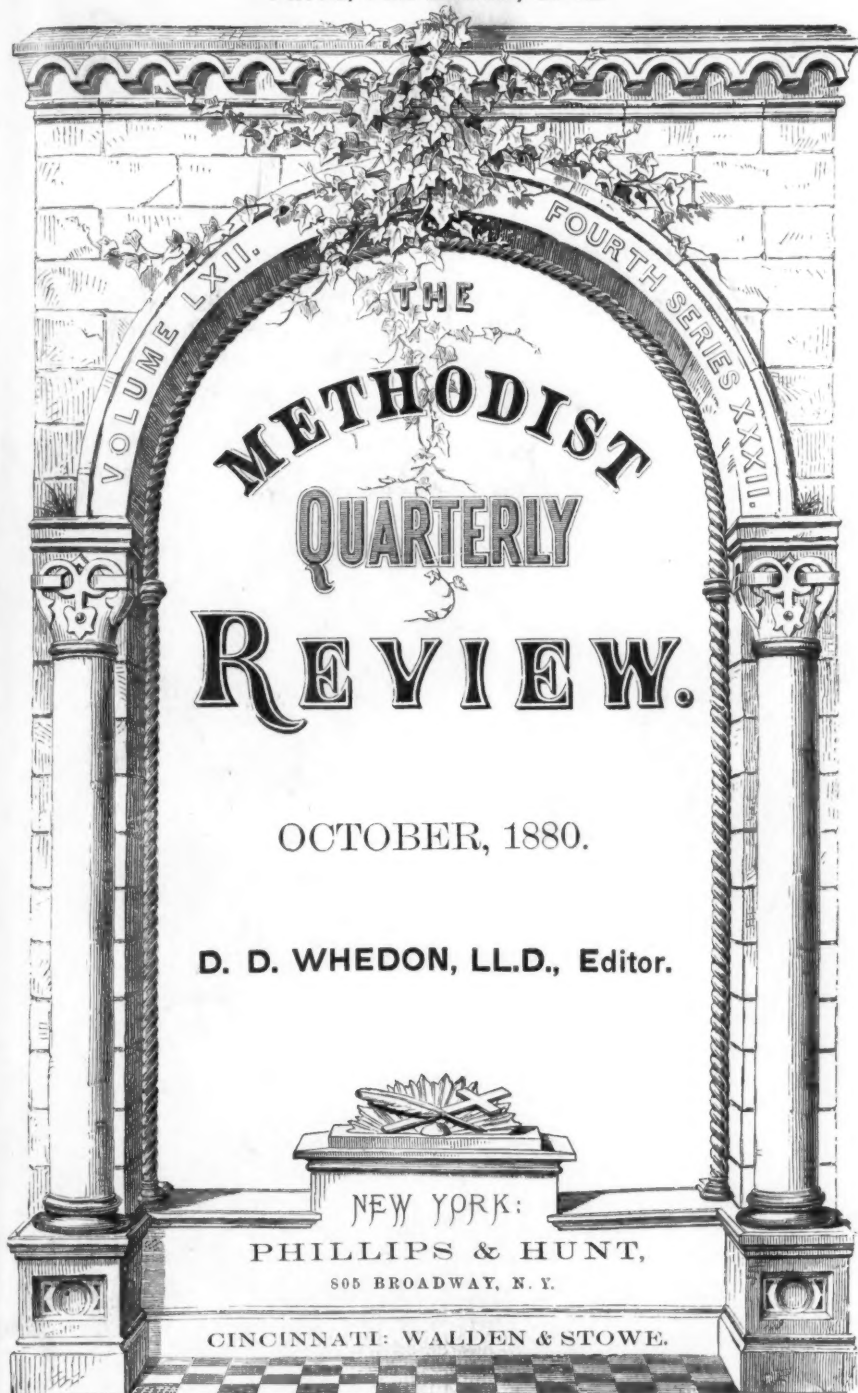
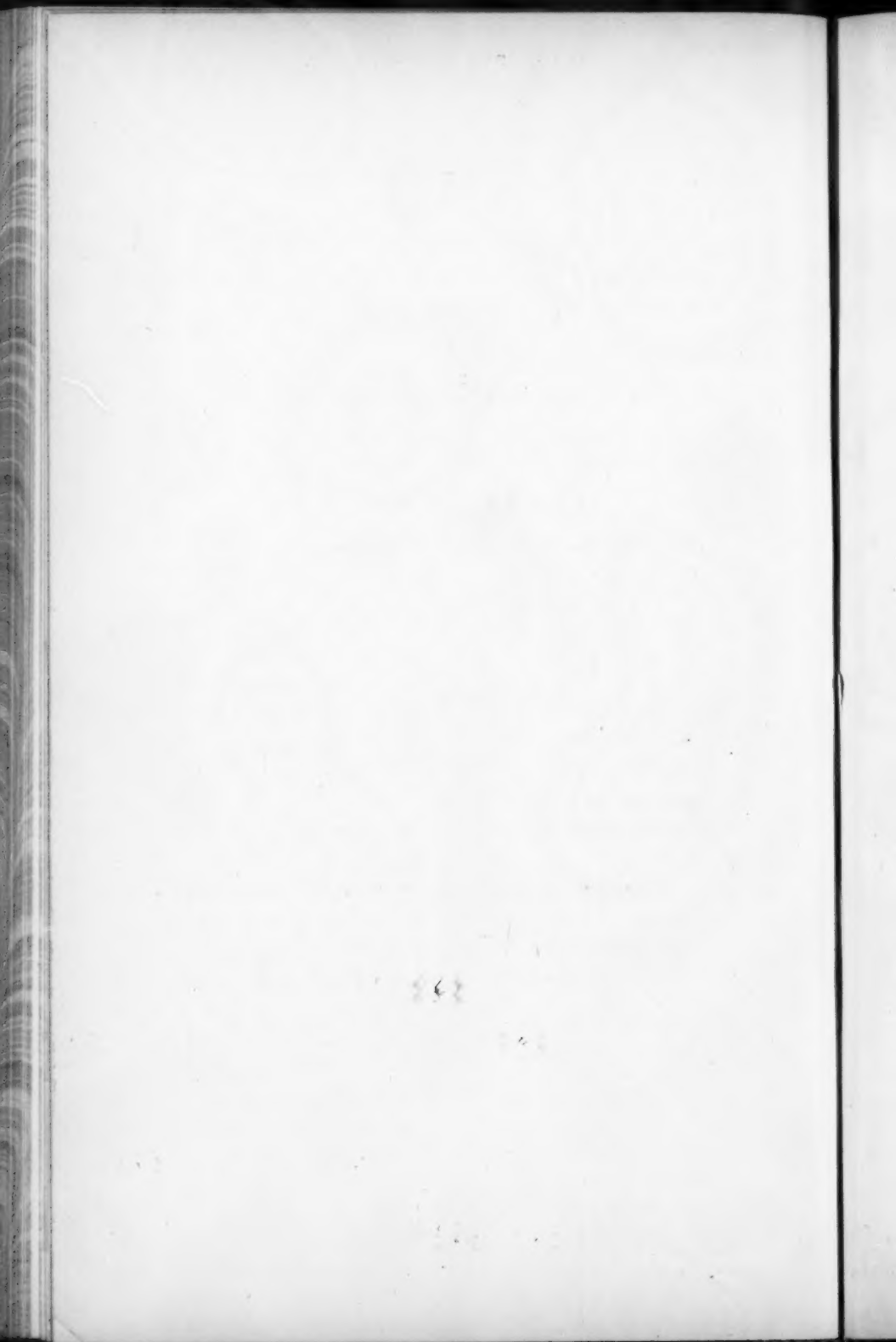


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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1880.

ART. I.—ADMINISTRATION OF CHURCH LAW.

Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By HON. WILLIAM J. HENRY and WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D.D., LL.D. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

THIS treatise is designed to assist in the orderly and legal, and thereby just and fair, administration of the rules and discipline of the Church. A portion of it is specially adapted to our own denomination, but it likewise contains a compendious statement of principles of law and rules of evidence which might well be commended to the observance of other Church tribunals. The importance of the subject is to be estimated from the object to be attained, and this is set forth in the preface as the maintenance of "sound doctrine and good morals." "In its legislation and administration the Church should seek, in all legitimate ways and to the extent of its authority, to prevent whatever would corrupt its doctrines, subvert its order, interrupt its peace, and stain its purity. Nothing scandalous or offensive should be allowed in its members; every Christian and churchly duty should be faithfully fulfilled; and all things should be done with seemliness and order unto edification and the glory of God. All these things are, therefore, proper subjects for the thoughtfulness, care, and authority of the Church."

This is a clear and temperate statement of the great objects to be attained, as nearly as may be, by a faithful administration of discipline. Essential integrity in morals and doctrine is a

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necessary condition of life and efficiency in a Church. We would not lightly esteem the charity which suffereth long and is kind, but every communion of Christians is bound to insist upon rectitude of intention, at least, in its members, and a persistent endeavor to conform the life to the pure standard of the Gospel. No fervors of devotion can atone for a willful and habitual disregard of the moral law. This may seem to be an incongruous joining of ideas, but we sometimes see both the fervor and the immorality, not only in the same Church, but in the same person.

There is at times a tendency to laxity of discipline, when faithfulness would lead to the sacrifice of social and material advantages; and we may be apt to think it better to retain these, even at some cost, as a means of influence and power. But it was found out long ago that "better is a little with righteousness than great revenues without right." The long toleration of wrong not only breeds corruption and contagion within, but repels them that are without.

Neither should a Church continue to harbor those who seek to undermine its cardinal doctrines. We would allow a liberal margin for individuality of opinion, and for the different colorings which are given to the same truth by the wonderful variety of human minds. We would by no means trench upon a becoming independence of thought; but when a man's convictions lead him to discard the recognized and authoritative standards of the Church to which he belongs, its doors should open outward for him. Indeed, it is one of the mysteries, that men finding themselves in such a position should wish to remain. Of course this has no reference to the advocacy of changes in the economy of the organization.

We shall have occasion further on to consider the manner and spirit in which the law should be enforced; but it is pertinent, in this connection, to quote a rule which Chief-Justice Hale laid down for his own administration of justice: "That it be done, 1, uprightly; 2, deliberately; 3, resolutely."

The book before us is very comprehensive in its scope. It gives a summary of principles and rules which have been the subject of many and extended treatises. The attempt to condense within the compass of a volume such various matters, many of them involving minute and technical learning, has,

we think, been performed as successfully as the nature of the undertaking would admit. The discussions, as a rule, are connected, clear, and very suggestive. While the statements are necessarily brief, they are, at the same time, accurate and precise.

We shall have occasion further on to criticise some of the details, but we have no hesitation in commending the work as a valuable codification of the principles of law and evidence; valuable for the purposes had in view in its preparation.

Part First is a sort of philosophical disquisition on the origin, nature, and binding force of law—divine and human; the relations of ecclesiastical and civil law; and the responsibilities of those who are the subjects of law. Part Second treats of the organization and government of the M. E. Church, with special reference to the judicial administration of its Discipline. Parts Third and Fourth are devoted to a consideration of the rules of evidence. Part Fifth relates to practice, and this is supplemented at the end of the book with a collection of appropriate forms and precedents. Part Sixth is a discussion of the legal evidence of the authenticity of the Scriptures.

The main feature of this work is the portion devoted to the law of evidence. This includes a considerable part of that which comes under the title of "Practice." It is no overstatement when the author says: "Under this head, which is by far the most important part of a Church investigation or trial, we propose to consider those general rules that experience and the wisdom of ages have demonstrated as important guides to the attainment of truth. Every science has its rules of investigation, the ultimate object being the attainment of truth, whether it be the solution of a mathematical truth that is capable of demonstration, or a moral truth which is incapable of demonstration, except to satisfy the conscience of the tribunal before whom the investigation takes place. The rules of evidence are the means employed for the attainment of this object."—P. 108. To give even a synopsis of the treatment of this subject would monopolize the space allowed to this article.

It will strike the reader of the work that the author has extended his discussion beyond those rules and principles which have a direct or practical application before Church tribunals. There is much that relates to the various and intricate questions

which arise in the civil courts. But, in order intelligently to administer a rule in the simplest case, it is useful to understand its origin, and to trace the sometimes subtle distinctions which attend its application. It is quite the fashion to sneer at the technicalities of lawyers as being artificial, and perhaps absurd; but the thoughtful student of the science of evidence (as of other branches of law) will perceive that it is a system of common sense applied to the affairs of civilized communities. Mr. Phillippo says: "The principles of evidence are founded on our observations of human conduct, of common life, and living manners; they are not just because they are rules of law, but they are rules of law because they are just and reasonable." It is a code which has been built up by gradual accretions, through the reasonings of jurists, the tests of experience, and by the searching and sifting discussions of advocates in the courts, till it comes to us as the crystallized wisdom of ages. In sharp analysis and severe logic no science can excel it, but it is at the same time elastic, fitting itself to the requirements of every topic of investigation. Now, the mastery of these principles is not a matter of instinct. Dogberry says, "To write and read comes by nature," but the knowledge of jurisprudence is an *acquisition*. It requires, to be sure, a substratum of common sense, for without this any amount of legal learning will be unmanageable rubbish. But no man can safely handle the complicated machinery of justice till he has been somewhat indoctrinated in the principles and rules which have been handed down to us by our predecessors.

And yet, under the Discipline of our Church, those who preside at trials and make the rulings of law, from the lowest to the highest courts, (until we reach the General Conference,) are men who have not, unless outside of their present profession, had any legal training, and whose prescribed course of study, preparatory to the ministry, does not embrace even the most elementary work in juridical science. Of course, it is to be expected that the preachers should hold this important place in our judicial system. The preacher in charge is naturally the president, upon the trial of a member before a committee, and rightly so, as he is responsible for the proper administration of Discipline; the presiding elder, of course, occupies the same position at a Quarterly Confer-

ence, and a bishop in a Judicial Conference. The committee of an Annual Conference trying a member must necessarily be composed of ministers, who, in that case, act in the double capacity of judge and jury.* An appeal can only come to the General Conference upon questions of law, and under the present arrangement it is referred for disposition to a Judiciary Committee, which at the General Conference of 1876 was composed of eleven ministers and one layman.† A committee appointed under the authority of the General Conference of 1872 to report a code, and a committee of the General Conference of 1876, to which the report, or rather reports, of the former committee were referred, both proposed to introduce the lay element into our ecclesiastical courts; but the very complete report of the latter committee, which seemed to be received with considerable favor, was presented at a late date, and failed of consideration for want of time. But whether under our present arrangement, or any other which may be adopted, it is obvious that it is very needful for our ministers to familiarize themselves somewhat with the principles and practice which obtain in the courts of law. We would venture to recommend the work under consideration as a sort of post-graduate text-book for those who have passed through the course prescribed by the bishops. And not only this, but that they should, as time and occasion serve, by other studies and by observation, acquaint themselves with legal modes of reasoning and with the practical application of laws to the daily concerns of life. There is a great temptation to suppose that our own ideas of right and wrong, and what we may be pleased to call a natural sense of justice, will guide us to correct results. Hence we are inclined to throw off the restraints of precedents. We say we will decide according to equity and good conscience. But herein lies the germ and opportunity of arbitrary and irresponsible dealing with the rights of others. Our courts, in the exercise of what is specially distinguished as their equity jurisdiction, are governed by principles as

* The last General Conference shut off all opportunity for professional assistance upon the trial of ministers by enacting that in all such cases no one shall appear as counsel either for the prosecution or defense, except a member of an Annual Conference.

† In the General Conference of 1880 there were thirteen members of the Judiciary Committee, of whom five were laymen.

fixed and well defined as those pertaining to any other branch of law. Though the powers of a court of equity are more flexible and far-reaching than those of strictly legal tribunals, they are yet as settled and fenced in by precedent and principle. Otherwise these decisions would be simply the expression of arbitrary will under the name of law. They might be mere whim, or caprice, or worse. There is a quaint saying to the effect that if the chancellor's own notion is to be taken as law, then the standard of all measurements is the chancellor's foot. Arbitrary power is always dangerous, even when conscientious; perhaps most dangerous when most conscientious. We want *law* to rule over us, not men. Men must interpret and administer the law, but they should do so as its servants, not as our masters. In the administration of Church discipline there is greater need of observing the rules of legal investigation, from the fact that it is so difficult to constitute a perfectly impartial tribunal. When a case is presented to a court of law for its determination, the court is supposed to regard neither of the parties, but to look only at the cause. Hence justice is represented with bandaged eyes, and holding her balanced scales. In the very large majority of cases this is not only theoretically but practically true. The court knows nothing of the litigants. Problems of law and of fact are subjected to modes of analysis which are employed in all like cases, as if they were questions of science, instead of a heated contest between plaintiff and defendant. But it is difficult to secure these conditions in a Church trial. From the nature of the case, impartiality is apt to be wanting. Previous intimate associations, and prepossessions or dislikes, are quite likely to exist. Sometimes hot partisanship usurps the judgment-seat. The writer remembers an instance where a committee of eminent ministers, sitting in judgment upon the conduct of another, had most of them avowed their antecedent convictions upon the very matters in issue, and one of the triers had publicly, and under oath, stated his belief in some of the charges upon which he was to pass. Such a tribunal was quite liable to make the wildest possible work in the attempt to administer justice. Sympathy or prejudice and passion, with religious feelings and an unenlightened conscience, is a combination unhappily some-

times met, and it cannot be said to conduce to calm judicial inquiry.

It is said that Lord Tenterden when at the bar was a poor leader; that, in fact, he showed the most marvelous inaptitude for the functions of an advocate, and almost always lost the verdict. His biographer says: "This partly arose from his power of discrimination and soundness of understanding, which, enabling him to see the real merits of the cause on both sides, afterward fitted him so well for being a judge." If the ability to take a view on both sides of a question is perplexing to an advocate, it must be confessed that it is sometimes troublesome to the judge who is to decide. But no man should undertake to determine the rights of another who is too lazy to weigh conflicting arguments, or too biased to do so with at least an effort to be fair. While, as we have said, it is important that offenses should be punished, it is essential that they should be dealt with in a spirit of candor, and without committing violence upon the safeguards which even criminals have a right to invoke. This is necessary not only for the protection of the accused, but that the administration of justice may be respected, and punishment carry with it the moral weight which shall make it wholesome.

Upon the arraignment and trial of members the preacher in charge occupies a delicate position, and ought to act discreetly and with judicial circumspection. It has probably been to a great extent the practice for him to frame the charges, though, as our author suggests, he should avoid this, as he may be called on to decide upon their sufficiency in substance or form. He selects the jury (committee) and presides as a judge upon the trial, admitting or rejecting testimony, and deciding questions of law, and thus, perhaps, controlling the outcome of the investigation. But here we most emphatically protest against a practice which seems to emanate from high authority, and may have thus become extensive, and which seems to be approved by Bishop Baker in the following, which is quoted from him without disapproval in the note at p. 414 of this work. In fact, the text to which this is a note states the same thing in substance: "The question has frequently been asked, May the preacher remain with the select number while they are making up their judgment? In reply, Bishop Hed-

ding remarks, 'Certainly he ought, for he is pastor of the flock, and he would neglect his duty were he to be absent, and consequently not know on what law or evidence the judgment is rendered.' " What follows from the text of Bishop Baker shows the unsoundness of this position, though it does not seem to be so intended. He says: "The preacher under no circumstances should attempt to balance the evidence, weigh the probabilities, determine the credibility of witnesses, or draw inferences from the facts proved, and thus determine disputed questions of fact, even at the request of the parties." He has no right, then, to be present during the deliberations of the "select number." The reason given by Bishop Hedding is certainly a strange one; as if the preacher is to "know on what law or evidence the judgment is rendered" by listening to the discussions of the committee after the case is given to them! The judge who, after charging the jury in court, should retire with them to their room to coach them into a proper verdict, or to overhear their conference so as to ascertain on what the verdict is founded, would probably soon find his way before a court of impeachment. The triers of the facts are entitled to consult in secret, and the question is, Whether their findings are sustained by the evidence as given on the trial, and the known law of the case. Even if the preacher had the power, like a judge in a civil court, to set aside the findings, (which he has not,) it would be his duty to test them by the record and not by the conversations of the committee room. If it should be said that it is his duty to see that the findings are in due form, the obvious answer is, that when the committee return the findings to him any informality or insufficiency can be remedied before they separate. It not unfrequently happens that a jury come into court with a verdict in improper form, and the correction is made on the spot, and their assent taken to the same.

Let us now turn to one or two branches of the law of evidence on which the text of the book before us seems to be behind the age. The author says, (p. 129,) "The rule, as we have seen, which excludes parties from being witnesses for themselves, applies to the case of husband and wife, neither of them being admissible as a witness in a case, civil or criminal, and where, by law, the other would be incompetent." That this was a

rule firmly grounded in the common law is indisputable; and it is just as clear that the drift of modern judicial legislation is toward the free examination of parties, and also the admission of the husband or wife of a party to testify, under certain restrictions, grounded in public policy. The copious notes on this chapter show this in part, but the text adheres to the old rule. We think the more liberal rules now prevailing to a great extent are the more enlightened, and that the ecclesiastical courts should adopt the improvements which the municipal laws have inaugurated. The exclusion of parties proceeded upon the theory that the man who had a direct interest in the event of a suit was not to be relied upon to tell the truth even under oath. This principle also shut out persons, not parties, who could be shown to have a pecuniary interest in the result, to the amount of a sixpence. In short, the minutest interest raised a presumption of perjury. And so, when a jury was solemnly impaneled to well and truly try, and a true verdict give, upon some important question of fact, the law studiously stopped the mouths of the very persons who could tell them most about the subject in hand, and oftentimes the only persons who had any positive knowledge of the matter. As early as 1824 Lord Denman thus exhibited the hardship, not to say absurdity, of the rule then in force:

In other cases the absolute rejection of light because there is a possibility of its leading astray, is difficult to be explained on rational grounds. Take, as example, the case of forgery. Unless the crime has been committed in the presence of witnesses, it can only be *proved* (in the proper sense of the word) by the individual whose name is said to have been forged; yet that person is the only person whom the law of England prohibits from proving the facts. The trial proceeds in the presence of the person whose name is said to have been forged, who alone knows the fact, and has no motive for misrepresenting it. His statement would at once convict the prisoner if guilty, or, if innocent, relieve him from the charge; and he is condemned to sit by, hearing the case imperfectly pieced out by the opinions and surmises of other persons on the speculative question whether or not the handwriting is his. And this speculation, incapable under any circumstances of satisfying a reasonable mind, decides upon the life of a fellow-citizen, in a system which habitually boasts of requiring always the very best evidence which the nature of the case can admit.

At length it began to be suspected that parties might tell the truth, no matter how strong their interest, and that those who were "disinterested witnesses" in the eye of the law, from bias or prejudice or want of moral principle might, after all, be as apt to lie as an honest man who is testifying in his own cause. A great many witnesses who have no legal interest in the issue of a trial are nevertheless so warped by feeling, or testify under such strenuous temptation to deviate from the truth, that they color and prevaricate and conceal as corruptly as even an unscrupulous party who has every thing at stake. The sensible conclusion has been adopted, that as the credibility of all witnesses must be determined by the jury, it is best to let the opposing parties confront each other and the other witnesses, and undergo such tests as the rules of evidence, the skill of counsel, and the common sense of the jury, may supply, for the discovery of truth and the detection of falsehood. Accordingly, England in 1843 removed the restriction from witnesses, other than parties who had a pecuniary interest in the case, and in 1851 admitted parties to testify in their own behalf, or at the call of their adversaries. This reform was adopted in New York in 1857, and it is believed that it has found its way into the codes of most of our States; and by Act of Congress it has been made the law in all the Federal Courts. There is one general restriction upon the examination of the party to an action or proceeding which is, in substance, that he may not testify in relation to a personal transaction or communication between himself and a deceased person or lunatic, as against the executor or administrator of such deceased, or a person deriving title or interest through or under him, or against the committee of the lunatic, unless such personal representative, etc., shall have offered himself as a witness to the same matter. The ground of this is obvious, but the restriction would not be applicable in any proceeding under our Discipline, except in the case of arbitrations as to "disagreement in business and non-payment of debts."

The policy of allowing defendants in criminal cases to testify in their own behalf was looked upon with greater distrust, and probably has not yet been so generally adopted, though it will doubtless become entirely prevalent. It seems barbarous to compel the accused to sit in silence, while a net-work

of evidence is woven round him, which may deprive him of liberty and character, or perhaps of life, and which his word alone can break. He might be able satisfactorily to meet and overcome the case against him if he could open his mouth in his own defense; and yet, if he cannot be heard, he must grope around to gather up a patch-work defense while every thing is in jeopardy.

Of course, under our laws, he cannot be *compelled* to testify. In the French courts the judge severely catechises the accused, and endeavors to extract from him some evidence of guilt, but it is against the principles and traditions of the English race to constrain a man to criminate himself.

The experience of the courts demonstrates the wisdom of this change. By calling the parties, the debatable ground is very much narrowed, for they generally agree about many things, and where they differ, the aid of other testimony, and the crucible of cross-examination, will generally bring out the facts with reasonable certainty. Cases are not very rare where the cross-examination of the party alone has been decisive of the case against him. The writer at this moment calls to mind an action brought by a gentleman for an injury which maimed and crippled him for life. The brief and general statement called out by his own counsel made a case for an enormous verdict. Upon being cross-examined, he gave the details, showing his own negligence, with such utter fairness and candor, and such rigorous impartiality, that when he hobbled from the stand he had lost his case, but he had won not only the sympathy of all, but our profoundest respect for the stainless honor of his manhood. It is not in the case of honest witnesses alone, however, that the cross-examination is effectual in eliciting the truth.

In regard to the admission of husband and wife as witnesses for or against each other, there is more ground for hesitation. It has been said "by them of old" that the "foundation of society would be shaken by permitting it." The exclusion of such testimony proceeded upon two grounds, identity of interest, and public policy. What was meant by the first may be seen by recalling how completely the legal status of the wife was merged in that of the husband. To enumerate a few of the particulars: upon marriage the husband became en-

titled to the use of the wife's lands during their joint lives, and if issue were born alive, he took an estate absolutely for his life; if the wife had an estate in lands for life, he became seized of such estate and entitled to the profits during marriage, "in right of his wife," as the lawyers grimly said, whatever consolation the phrase might afford her; he took her chattels real, the debts due her, and all her personal property as his own. This was the way he endowed her with all his worldly goods. As an offset to this, he was bound to maintain her, and to pay the debts contracted by her before marriage; but if she died before such debts were collected, he retained her property, but went free of the debts. She could not even dispose of her lands by will. In short, the spirit of the law was that the husband and wife were one, and the husband was that one.

The general current of modern legislation is sweeping away the barbarous rules of the common law, by which the husband absorbed the property and the legal existence of the wife, and her interests and rights are now made separate and independent. One ground of the old rule of evidence is therefore removed. The other ground is thus well stated by the author:

The law, having regard to the happiness of the marriage state, and to prevent invasion of that confidence that husband and wife are required to repose in each other, has wisely provided that communications made by one to the other should be kept inviolate, and that nothing confided by the one should be extracted from the bosom of the other.—P. 125.

This is a solid foundation, and it is to be hoped, an indestructible one. Communications that are made under the sacred confidence of the marital relation should certainly be held sacred. But this by no means exhausts the possibilities of evidence. The husband or wife often possesses information of facts most vital to the controversy, which was acquired independently of any communication from the other, as any other witness would acquire such information. There is no limit to the cases we might cite from every-day experience illustrative of this. For example, suppose the husband to be accused of uttering a slander on an occasion when the wife was present, or that the husband should witness an assault upon his wife, or that, as often happens, the wife, in her husband's absence, has

transacted business as his agent, and, the other party to the transaction being a witness against the husband, she is the only person who can protect his rights in court. What has the protection of confidential communications to do with the exclusion of such a witness? *Ratione cessante, cessat ipsa lex*; where the reason for a rule ceases, the rule itself fails. It will not be found difficult in practice to draw the proper distinction, and apply it intelligently.

The rule is plainly stated as follows in the present code of the State of New York: "A husband or wife shall not be compelled, or, without consent of the other, if living, allowed, to disclose a confidential communication made by one to the other during the marriage." We think decidedly the same shield should be thrown over such confidences *after* the death of either party, as before, and that such disclosure should not be allowed in any case after such death.

It may be said that it would be subversive of sound policy to compel a wife, living with her husband, to come into court to testify against him in any case, at the instance of his adversary. Practically this is rarely if ever attempted. Litigants in their senses would not, under ordinary circumstances, adventure quite so far into the enemy's camp. Especially in Church trials it would be impossible for this evil to occur, because the witnesses appear only of their own accord.

Lord Denman, whom we have already cited, though in favor of allowing *parties* to testify, was still of opinion that husband and wife should be disqualified as witnesses for or against each other. First, on the ground already discussed, that the confidence between married persons makes their whole conversation an unreserved confession:

But (he says) our stronger reason is, that the passions must be too much alive, when the husband and wife contend in a court of justice, to give any chance for fair play to the truth. It must be expected as an unavoidable consequence of the connection by which they are bound that their feelings, either of affection or hatred, must be strong enough to bear down the abstract regard for veracity, even in judicial depositions.

This is certainly not a flattering view of human nature, and if it does not somewhat underestimate the average regard for truth, judicial tribunals have very little solid ground upon

which to stand. The contrary view prevailed in England as early as 1853, when an act was passed making husbands and wives of parties in civil suits competent and compellable to testify, they being privileged, however, from disclosing any communication made to them during the marriage. In 1867 the Legislature of this State (New York) enacted a similar law, and this was followed, in 1876, by an act making husband or wife competent, but not compellable, to testify in all criminal proceedings against the other. The drift of opinion is now in favor of admitting all witnesses who are able to throw light upon the questions to be tried, leaving it to the jury to make all reasonable allowances for their interest or feelings, and determine the credit to be given to their testimony. Although perjury is too common in our courts, it is doubtful whether it is more so in consequence of the removal of the restrictions which shut out all interested witnesses; and it is certain that courts now have much greater facilities for arriving at the truth. All these reforms have encountered opposition, and have been adopted not without misgivings, but experience is demonstrating their wisdom. It is a common notion that the science of law is mainly the following of precedents, but there is nothing that better marks the progress of civilization than the history of jurisprudence; and our greatest jurists have been liberal, though judicious, reformers. More than two centuries ago Sir Matthew Hale condemned "the over-tenacious holding of laws, notwithstanding apparent necessity for, and safety in, the change." Nothing much better than the following passage has been written since:

He that thinks a State can be exactly steered by the same laws in every kind as it was two or three hundred years ago, may as well imagine that the clothes that fitted him when a child should serve him when he was grown a man. The matter changeth; the custom, the contracts, the commerce, the dispositions, education, and tempers of men and societies change in a long tract of time, and so must these laws in some measure be changed, or they will not be useful for their state or condition; and, besides all this, time is the wisest thing under heaven. These very laws which at first seemed the wisest constitution under heaven have some flaws and defects discovered in them by time.

What an illustration we have of the truth of this, when we remember that this same upright and immortal judge, under

a statute of the realm, tried and sentenced to death two women as witches, and the following Sunday, in allusion to the matter, wrote a "meditation concerning the mercy of God in preserving us from the malice and power of evil angels." One of his successors, we are told, put an end to witchcraft by directing prosecutions against the parties who pretended to be bewitched, and punishing them as cheats and impostors.

An interesting and important chapter of the book before us is devoted to the consideration of presumptive, or circumstantial, evidence. This has long been a subject fruitful of debate, it may be said of controversy. It is stoutly contended by many that it is dangerous to convict of crime in any case, especially so of capital offenses, upon merely circumstantial evidence. Mr. Phillipps, a writer on evidence, to whom reference has already been made, has published a collection of "famous cases of circumstantial evidence," in many of which persons were convicted who afterward appeared to have been innocent. These cases have served as a sort of arsenal from which to draw weapons of defense against all accusations resting upon presumptive proof, and, doubtless, juries have often been deterred from acting upon their own firm belief by the recital of some well-selected instances of mistaken verdicts. But, granting that the cases are all well-authenticated, they make no real argument against the propriety, nay the necessity, of proceeding, even to extremes, upon this species of evidence. Of many of the cases stated by Mr. Phillipps it may be said that no jury should have found a verdict of guilty upon the facts proved; and under our present benign administration of law, with the aid of counsel to the accused, (a right formerly denied,) with every facility afforded to him for the production of his evidence, and with the right given him to testify in his own behalf, there would be slight danger of his conviction.

But if sometimes the innocent have been condemned upon circumstantial evidence, we must remember that they have also suffered upon direct and positive testimony, given by perjured witnesses. We are not, however, to discard either kind of proof because it may occasionally lead us to erroneous results.

The distinction between direct and circumstantial evidence was stated substantially as follows by Chief Justice Shaw upon the trial of Prof. Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman:

Direct or positive evidence is where a witness testifies to the precise fact which is the subject of the issue in trial; thus, in a case of homicide, that the party accused did cause the death of the deceased. But in case of circumstantial evidence, where no witness can testify directly to the fact to be proved, you arrive at it by a series of other facts, which by experience we have found so associated with the fact in question as, in the relation of cause and effect, that they lead to a satisfactory and safe conclusion; as where footprints are discovered after a recent snow, it is certain that some animated being has passed over the snow since its fall, and, from the form and number of the foot-prints, it can be determined with equal certainty whether it was a man, a bird, or a quadruped. Circumstantial evidence, therefore, is founded on experience and observed facts and coincidences establishing a connection between the known and proved facts and the facts sought to be proved.

With the case put by the chief justice we have a good illustration of the two kinds of testimony. If a witness should swear that he saw a man pass across a field it would be direct and positive testimony; if, however, no person saw the man, but we found human foot-prints on the recent snow or the yielding soil, we know from this circumstance, as surely as we could from direct evidence, that a human being has passed that way; and from certain peculiarities of the track, and correspondence with the boot of a particular man, we may be able to identify the individual with considerable certainty. One circumstance after another may be added, all tending to the same result, and each increasing the force of the inference to be drawn, till we arrive at that degree of moral conviction which is resistless. Many a criminal has fancied himself secure in the secrecy of his deed, till some clew has led the way to a train of surrounding facts which have fastened upon him with remorseless certainty.

Careful reflection will show us that in the common affairs of life, whether simple or complicated, we to a very great extent form our conclusions and take our action upon presumptive evidence. The man who is the best discerner of signs, and the best judge of probabilities, will, as a rule, arrive at the most correct results. The facts we gather from absolute and positive evidence are few compared with the ultimate facts which we reach by a course of reasoning, but which we rely upon with confidence. Indeed, it will be found upon the last analysis that much of what we call direct or positive evidence

is, after all, presumptive. The following extreme illustration of this is given by Chief Justice Appleton, and was also made use of by the attorney general in Webster's case: You see a man discharge a gun at another, you see the flash, you hear the report, you see a man fall dead, and you infer from all these circumstances that there was a ball discharged from the gun which entered his body and caused his death, because such is the usual and natural cause of such an effect. But you did not see the ball leave the gun, pass through the air, and enter the body of the slain, and your testimony to the fact of killing is, therefore, only inferential; in other words, circumstantial. The judge might have gone further, for even in so plain a case of irresistible inference of fact, we could not without further proof adjudge the man-slayer to be guilty of murder, but for two presumptions which the law supplies; first, that every one is presumed to be sane till the contrary appears, and, second, that every man is presumed to intend the natural consequences of his acts.

It would not be useful for the purposes of this article to attempt to draw the distinction between presumptions of law and of fact; nor would it be possible to enumerate or classify the great variety of inferences which we are constantly drawing from the facts which surround us. In our practical deductions we act upon our knowledge of the laws of nature, of animal instincts, and of the physical, intellectual, and moral constitution of man. In regard to human conduct, we judge it generally to proceed from the ordinary motives, affections, and passions which animate the human breast. Thus, in a celebrated case, Solomon rightly decided a question where the positive evidence was in direct conflict, upon the simple presumption that a mother's love would prompt her to give up her offspring rather than see it slain; and we are told that the people "saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment."

As Chief Justice Shaw says, it is necessary, owing to the secrecy of crime, "to use all other modes of evidence besides that of direct testimony, provided such proofs may be relied on as leading to safe and satisfactory conclusions; and, thanks to a beneficent providence, the laws of nature and the relation of things to each other are so linked and combined together that a medium of proof is often thereby furnished leading to infer-

ences and conclusions as strong as those arising from direct testimony." When we have the direct testimony of a witness to a fact, the witness may be false, and we may not have the means of detecting the falsehood, and this has given rise to the claim that presumptive evidence is most satisfactory, as witnesses may lie, but facts cannot. To this it has been replied that though facts themselves cannot lie, the men who testify to them may, and thus in both cases we run the risk of perjury. But it must be remembered that in the case of presumptive proofs we commonly rely upon a collection and comparison of various facts and circumstances coming from different witnesses, and that they are much less liable, as Judge Shaw says, to be falsely prepared and arranged, and thus falsehood and perjury are more likely to be detected. There have been cases, however, of fabricated circumstantial evidence, where a skillfully laid plot has surrounded an innocent person with the appearances of guilt. This may be elaborately and artfully done; and, especially where the mouth of the party was closed by the law, it has, doubtless, sometimes been done with fatal effect. The Bible affords us a simple illustration of this species of inposition. When Joseph secretly placed a cup in the mouth of Benjamin's sack, and sent after him to accuse him of theft on the strength of his being found in the possession of apparently stolen property, he fabricated a case of circumstantial evidence against him. True, it was not pressed to a conviction, because it had an innocent purpose, being prompted by fraternal love, in which respect it was quite distinguishable from some of the devices of his father in his unregenerate days. For the reason above stated, the instances in which perjury enters into and vitiates presumptive proofs are few compared with those in which direct and positive proof is manufactured.

In cases of doubt in our ordinary affairs, and in the determination of civil cases by our courts, we judge in accordance with probabilities, that is, according to the preponderance of evidence; while in criminal cases, on account of the more serious consequences, we require the evidence to be of such a convincing nature as to exclude every reasonable hypothesis consistent with the innocence of the accused. This has been reduced to a maxim, so common as to be familiar to all, that the accused is entitled to the benefit of every reasonable doubt.

But this doubt must not be a mere whim or caprice. It has been defined to be "that state of the case which, after the entire comparison and consideration of all the evidence, leaves the minds of jurors in that condition that they cannot say they feel an abiding conviction to a moral certainty of the truth of the charge." In other words, proof beyond reasonable doubt is that which "establishes the truth of a fact to a reasonable and moral certainty, a certainty that convinces and directs the understanding and satisfies the reason and judgment of those who are bound to act conscientiously upon it."

When a case is thus made out we are not to be deterred from acting by fear, simply because the consequences of a barely possible mistake may be irreparable. Where circumstantial evidence has wrought in the mind a degree of conviction equal to that produced by direct testimony, we must act upon it in the same way. There is the possibility of error in either case, but human administration of law is ever imperfect and ever liable to mistake. We are not for that reason to nullify the law.

As the author says, the prosecution of offenders under the discipline of the Church is, in some respects, analogous to criminal proceedings; but we venture the opinion that in a religious organization where, from the nature of the case, its standing and efficiency depend so much upon purity of reputation in its members, and the avoidance of scandal, the weight of probabilities, as in ordinary civil cases, is sufficient to justify a Church in protecting itself by removing the cause of offense. It cannot afford the benefit of every doubt to those who are bringing reproach upon its name.

There is one function of circumstantial evidence of the utmost practical importance. In the great majority of instances the case does not depend upon either direct or presumptive proof alone, but rather upon a mixture of both. Unfortunately, it is of frequent occurrence that there is a strong conflict of direct testimony. We often hear the most violent contradictions between witnesses, called to testify to the same facts or circumstances from personal knowledge. This is not always to be attributed to perjury on one side or the other. It is a wise maxim of law that if a conflict between witnesses can be explained upon the hypothesis of honesty on both sides, we are

so to explain it; if we cannot, we adopt the theory of perjury as a last resort; but, in either case, we are to find out the truth with as much certainty as possible. How is this to be done? We of course take account of the character of the witnesses, if known or proved, of their means of observation, their clearness or confusion of memory, their manner and appearance in testifying, and various other matters which may affect their credibility. But these tests will not always suffice. Courts and juries are sometimes led astray by perjury, and even upon ecclesiastical trials falsehood is possible, and may be so plausible as to "deceive the very elect." In these cases of conflicting direct evidence, we resort to presumptive evidence to settle the doubt. We inquire which is most rational; which best accords with the known facts; which is most probable upon a consideration of the character and conduct of the parties and of the witnesses; which is confirmed or weakened by any circumstances appearing in the case. Truth must be consistent with itself. If an alleged fact cannot co-exist with an established or admitted fact, it must, of course, be discarded. It may be that an apparently trivial circumstance, when carefully examined, absolutely contradicts a mass of testimony, and bars our way when we were rapidly driving on to a conclusion. There is occasionally confusion and apparent inconsistency in the attending circumstances, when explanation and comparison may reconcile the seeming discrepancies, so that through the tangled skein we may trace the white line of truth till it leads on to a sure and safe result.

It must be admitted, however, that human testimony, in all its varieties, is a very imperfect means of arriving at the truth. Such are our differences in constitution, in perceptive faculties and reasoning powers, in prejudices and prepossessions, that, upon the plainest matters, we seldom perfectly agree. Perhaps none of us suspect how much the images in our minds are distorted by the medium through which they enter. Even as to objects of sense we find great difficulty in getting an exact report. A number of eye-witnesses to the same occurrence frequently get such different and sometimes contradictory impressions of the same occurrence that no two can unite upon the details. Especially is this diversity manifested in the attempt to repeat conversations, or any kind of oral statements.

A slight change of expression, even the omission or misplacing of a single word, will often entirely pervert the meaning. But when we consider how often the hearer fails to comprehend the true import of words at the time they are spoken, and how treacherous the memory is at all times, the more so when under the bias of interest or prejudice, we see the extreme caution necessary to be exercised in all this kind of evidence.

But this liability to error is by no means peculiar to legal investigations. It enters into the whole world of opinions, dividing mankind into an endless variety of parties. It invades the solemn domain of history, which has its conflicting schools and theories, and its hot partisanship. With all the proverbial uncertainty of law, it is in fact among the most certain of any of the departments of human inquiry. It gives us scientific and logical modes of proceeding, so that even when we grope our way in the midst of confused elements, we have light upon our path. If we adhere to established principles, and follow where experience guides us, we shall best render to our fellow-men such measure of justice as is possible to our limited means of knowledge, and our imperfect judgment.

ART. II.—THE ETHICS OF SINCERITY.

SINCERITY is a fundamental virtue. Without it there can be no moral excellence of character and conduct. But is it, as many think, the all-sufficient virtue? They hold any line of belief and action amply vindicated by the fact that it was the honest following of individual judgment and conscience. If a man speak out his own convictions of what is true, and act out his own convictions of what is right, what more can be required? If he did otherwise, would he not be culpable? "I tell things as I see them; I do my duty as I understand it. I may be mistaken, but I am surely sincere. Therefore, I am free from reproach. My own heart approves, and God, who knows my honesty, must approve me. If men condemn, they are either ignorant or unjust."

This plea is plausible. It professes to be based on the ethical axiom that intelligence and volition condition and measure

responsibility. It appeals to common sense, which has in numberless instances accepted the excuse, "He knew no better." Much Scripture is cited in its support. But thoughtful men shrink from its far-reaching consequences. The idolater claims sincerity as well as the worshiper of Jehovah, the Mormon as well as the Christian, the heretic as well as the orthodox, the infidel as well as the believer. Some persons believe in communism, some in free love, some in persecuting unto death those who reject their creed; there are even found in our day and land a few who believe that they should kill their own children to the glory of God. What error, vice, crime, however monstrous and pernicious, may not be justified if this plea be admitted? Besides, often as we have urged in our own behalf, and acknowledged in behalf of others, sincerity of conviction as a valid ground of acquittal from censure, we have not less frequently condemned persons, sometimes with severe scorn and indignation, on account of their avowed opinions and deeds, without denying that they really held those opinions, and that their deeds conformed to their own code of morals.

Read the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the tenth of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Difference of opinion, and hence of practice, existed in the Churches about the lawfulness or obligation of eating certain meats and observing certain days; and Paul wrote that every man should follow his own convictions. "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him." "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." "For why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?" These passages seem to teach that sincerity in obeying conscience is the test of uprightness and divine approval; that men who pursue contrary lines of conduct may be equally accepted of God, because they agree in doing what they conceive to be his will. "Wise and noble words of liberty and toleration!" certain persons cry out; "how they rebuke the narrowness and despotism of Churches that insist on one faith, and proscribe all who do not think and do like them!" But lest they confound liberty and license, let them take along

with those places these from Paul and John: "As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." "He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him Godspeed: for he that biddeth him Godspeed, is partaker of his evil deeds." The principle involved in these apostolic words is adopted by multitudes who care not for orthodox Christianity; for whatever latitude they may claim or allow on other points, they cannot endure atheism, free love, Mormonism, and a long list of doctrines which, in their judgment, undermine all pure and wholesome morals. What is the principle? The reply is ready, that in the one set of cases men differed on comparatively trivial points, and in the other on the most vital and momentous; but we wish to draw out the moral principle which justifies or excuses those who err in certain respects, if sincere, and does not allow sincerity as a defense in other cases. Shall we not follow our own reason and conscience in grave matters, as in slight? Do not the importance and obligation of taking them as guides rise with the gravity of the issues? The question is worth studying.

1. Sincerity of opinion does not affect the objective rule of right. There is a standard, a law of righteousness, outside our thinking, independent of us, superior to us. A merchant whose yard-stick is short does not give good measure, however ignorant he may be of its defect. My thinking that suicide is justifiable as an escape from incurable disease or rooted sorrow does not make it right. Eminent writers, even in our day, have taught that truth is what one thinks, that right is what one believes or feels he ought to do. But this doctrine is too shocking to need refutation; indeed, all the refutation possible or desirable is a clear statement of the position, and an appeal to the intuitive convictions of every mind. All our judgments, true or false, imply a standard of truth, a reality external to and independent of our opinions and reasonings, with which they should agree; all our moral sentiments imply a law of righteousness apart from and supreme over our conscience. This law, in its essential principles, is one, changeless, eternal, though human creeds and codes are many, varia-

ble, conflicting. Either there are many gods, or One, or none; all these views have been maintained, but they are not, cannot be, equally true, equally false; one must be true, the others false. Either dueling is right under some circumstances, or it is always wrong; the principle does not alter, however opinions and customs may. That empiricism, skepticism, or agnosticism, which denies or doubts that there is any right or wrong except a notion, or a feeling, or both, puts out the eyes of the soul and dwells in thick darkness.

2. Sincerity does not prevent the mischievous effects of false teaching and wrong practice on others. At this point apply many analogies which, we shall hereafter show, are illogically employed to prove that to be sincere is not to be guiltless. Poison is not less fatal because the person administering it believes it to be innocent and medicinal. The shot will not fail to kill because he who pulled the trigger in sport knew not that the gun was loaded. A man may ignorantly drop a spark on gunpowder or nitro-glycerine, and the disaster be as great as if it were intentional. So, if he teach error honestly, he will mislead; if he inflame passion and incite insurrection, the consequences may be terrible despite his persuasion that he only opposed grievances which should not be borne and advocated rights which should be maintained; if he persecute believing that he does God service, the sufferings that result are not less real and severe. Abhorrence and terror at pernicious doctrines and immoral conduct are not lessened by the plea, though true, that their advocates are sincere.

3. Sincerity does not neutralize the evil effect of wrong views and practice—wrong, we mean, by the absolute or objective standard—on the spirit and habits of those adopting the opinions and course. We are now discussing, not innocence and guilt, but the state of the heart, the dispositions which are cherished and obeyed. It is not morally indifferent what men think and how they act, provided they be conscientious. The savage believes that revenge is noble and obligatory; that not to avenge insult and injury proves weakness, cowardice, and obtuse sensibility; that is a bounden duty to visit severe retribution, swiftly, if possible, but even after the lapse of years if opportunity do not sooner serve, not only on the offenders, but also on their families and kin. He fans the wrath in his

own breast and in his comrade's, and rejoices to spoil, maim, and slay his foes without shame or self-reproach, but rather with a judgment and feeling of merit before gods and men. The Christian considers both the spirit and act of revenge wicked and vile, and cultivates and exercises forbearance and forgiveness. Let us concede, for the sake of the argument, that they are equally honest in their opinions, that each follows his own light, that they are both guiltless; nevertheless, the savage cultivates the temper and habit of vindictiveness and hate, the Christian of generous, unselfish, all-conquering love; one allies himself to demons, the other to angels and to God. If men understand not the sanctity of marriage, but indulge their lusts without restraint, they wax more and more sensual and bestial, they sow to the flesh, though unwittingly, and of the flesh they reap corruption, while chaste love and a happy home refine and elevate.

Does sincerity, then, count nothing in the formation of character? Indeed, it is of great worth. There can be no worse habit than insincerity. To be honest and conscientious is a large and essential element of moral excellence. In the cases supposed, there is not the ruinous moral effect of violating the sense of duty, of committing willful sin. This distinction is fundamental and momentous; he who does wrong ignorantly does not suffer the same demoralization, the same perversion and wrenching of his moral nature, as the enlightened transgressor. Yet simple following of conscience, without respect to its contents—to what conscience enjoins—is not the whole means of spiritual improvement; it cannot save those who violate the law of justice, purity, and love, ignorantly and in unbelief, as did Saul of Tarsus, from the reaction of the evil course on their own hearts. He was a sincere Pharisee then, as later he was a sincere Christian. We shall presently investigate the question of his innocence or criminality in those days when he breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of Jesus; but however that question may be decided, it is evident that despite all his conscientiousness he was debasing, hardening, brutalizing his own nature, he was cultivating pride, bigotry, hate, and cruelty. What a contrast is presented by his later life, when his heart expanded and warmed with the noble and spiritual religion of Christ, and,

with a world-embracing charity kindled by the love of Jesus, he rejoiced to preach the unsearchable riches of grace to Jew and Greek, high and low, bond and free. Then he sowed to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reaped the blessed harvest of all that is true and just and pure and lovely and good, in moral character.

We pause here to note the vast practical significance of this truth as a motive to search diligently for that faith which is pure and undefiled, for that ethical code which most hallows and exalts; and, further, as a motive to evangelize all nations. The *missionary* power of this motive we would emphasize, because it is needed to refute the sophistries by which professed believers would excuse themselves from the obligation to propagate their faith, or else to kindle in their cold hearts enthusiasm for this great cause. The argument is still heard that the heathen are sincere in their worship and low system of morals, and therefore not guilty, not exposed to punishment; that there is no call, therefore, to disturb their ease and security by pouring the light of the Gospel on the darkness in which they lie. We say nothing at this point on what Richard Watson styles the "doting and toothless theology" that teaches the *safety* of the pagan world; the reply we now make to the miserable plea of selfish ease and unbelief is that the heathen, however honest in their errors, are degraded and corrupted by the lies they believe and the vices they indulge, and that it is our plain duty to purify and uplift them by the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. Independently of all considerations of sincerity it does matter whether we are heathen, Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian; whether Romanist or Protestant; whether skeptics or believers; whether fatalists or libertarians; whether we hold that virtue consists in following pleasure, or general utility, or the sovereign authority of essential right. When the excuse is made in behalf of round dances, card-playing, horse-racing, and other amusements, that though they be objectionable by the strict code of Christianity, yet they are innocent to the large numbers who see no evil in them, we answer that the demoralizing tendency of these sports is a proved fact, apart from the question whether or not the participants in them understand their injurious effect. If our children attend the theater without scruple of conscience, they are not, indeed,

fighting conscience, but they do expose themselves to the dangerous influences of the play and the associations.

4. The most difficult point remains to be discussed, Does sincerity justify? It does not make an act right, it does not prevent the mischievous effects of our wrong conduct on others; it does not neutralize its demoralizing tendency on our own heart; but is a man guiltless who does what he believes to be his duty, however defective and even positively erroneous his views? Can he be justly blamed and punished for an evil deed if he verily thought in himself that he ought to do it? Shall he not rather be commended for obeying conscience, though an unenlightened and sadly mistaken conscience?

We often meet loose reasoning, false analogies, on this point, in works of great ability. "If men say it would be unjust in God to punish them for violating his law when they did not believe, or did not certainly know, that it was his law, we point them to the fact that this holds of physical laws—that he who takes poison will be killed, even though he did not know, or did not believe, that it was poison." The fact to which the writer points cannot be disputed. The fatal effect of strychnine does not depend on the knowledge, belief, or intention of him who takes or him who gives it. The hostess may poison her family and guests by dishing out soup which she believes to be wholesome food; the mother may force an unpalatable dose down the throat of her resisting babe, and if the druggist sent her poison instead of the proper drug, the life of the child will not be saved by his own reluctance or the good intention of the mother. Knowledge, motive, and free will, need not enter into the account; the poison works its natural effects—"this holds of physical laws." But shall we affirm whatever belongs to physical laws of moral laws also? Is the housewife guilty as well as the cook who, with murderous intent, poisoned the soup? Is the mother guilty as well as the cruel or careless druggist? Is the babe justly punishable for the crime of self-murder? In the sphere of morals it is material whether the offender knows or believes that he is breaking the law of God. Responsibility involves intelligence and liberty. The physical consequences of an act do not depend on its being voluntary or involuntary, but when the question concerns desert of punishment, no just person can refuse to con-

sider whether it was done with or without choice and consent. It is equally plain that accountability is conditional on knowledge. Innocence and guilt are determined, not by a uniform standard for all men, not by the perfect law of righteousness, but by the varying degrees of light they enjoy. The obligation to obey conscience is universal, and this means that every man should obey his own conscience, be it rudimentary or developed, dark or enlightened, uncultivated or refined; he ought, in other words, to do what he believes right. There may be hesitation in admitting this broadly-stated position, but we may press the question, Ought he ever to disobey conscience to do what he believes wrong under the circumstances?

It may be said that not conscience, but the word of God, is the rule to be followed. This, however, is irrelevant. We are not discussing the sources of our knowledge of duty. Whether that knowledge be intuitive, or reached by a process of inductive or deductive reasoning, or gathered from the Holy Scriptures, the question arises, Are we not bound to obey our convictions of duty? It is true, that the ultimate authority or foundation of right does not dwell in conscience, nor in any other power of the human soul; just as the authority or basis of all rational principles is not in the reason by which they are known, but in the truths apprehended. The authority of the civil law is not in the judge, not in the supreme court; it would be false to affirm that the constitution or equity is whatever the court thinks; yet its decisions must be accepted at the time as the correct interpretation of the law. So at any instant the moral law to a person is practically what his conscience sees to be binding, and truth to him is practically what his judgment sees to be true.

Abundant testimony in favor of this position is furnished by the Scriptures. We quote only a few verses: "Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth." "For as many as have sinned without law"—sinned against the law written in the heart without possessing the light of revelation—"shall also perish without law," perish because condemned by the light of nature, not because condemned by the law of Moses or of Christ, of which they had never heard. This passage establishes the responsibility of the heathen, and disproves the no-

tion that they are not obnoxious to punishment. They have light, though not the full, bright light of the Gospel, and are justly punishable for offenses against law in their minds. The extent of their guilt and penalty is known not to us, but to the righteous Judge of all the earth. "But sin is not imputed where there is no law." "Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. And he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin." "Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

Some will grant that whoever conforms to the law of rectitude so far as known to him must be acquitted, though he come short of complete righteousness through defect of information; that pagans should not be judged by the law of Moses, nor the Jews who lived before Christ by the Gospel; and yet they will shrink from admitting that one can be held clear in doing a positive wrong, though he believed it his duty. But how can this inference be escaped, since conscientiousness is always obligatory, and conscientiousness consists in following closely one's own conscience?

We reach the conclusion, therefore, that sincerity does justify; that we cannot be justly held to more than living up to our own light. But what is this sincerity that should be accepted as a ground of acquittal by man and God? It is a quality far deeper and higher than what commonly passes under the name. Sincerity exists in widely different degrees, from a comparatively common virtue to the highest spiritual excellence, to that singleness of eye which fills the whole body with light. A sincere person is one who loves light, not merely for the gratification of curiosity, not merely for the sake of speculative wisdom, but that he may be guided in the path of duty; who seeks the truth with all his heart wherever he may hope to find it; who is not biased by custom, self-interest, willfulness, or the voice of prejudice, pride, and passion, but with purity of intention desires to learn his whole duty, that he may do it at all cost and hazard: who does the will of God in all points so far as he knows it, and presses on after fuller knowledge. This thorough-going, perfect sincerity justifies, and this alone, and it is a rare virtue.

The insufficiency of the common plea of sincerity may be illustrated by a few hypothetical cases. You spread an evil report about your neighbor, and when charged with slander defend yourself by saying that you believed it true. Granted, but did you know it to be true? Had you taken pains to examine what foundation there was for it? Did you not accept mere rumor as proof, or magnify matter of suspicion into evidence of guilt? Did not the love of gossip, a personal grudge, or some prejudice, move you to catch hastily at this report, and to believe it without sufficient proof? If the accused had been your brother, would you not have flamed with indignation against any who, on such testimony, spoke of him even as probably guilty? Sincerity of belief, in order to justify you, must include the spirit of justice and charity in forming and uttering the belief. The verdict of the jury expressed their sincere opinion of the guilt of the prisoner. They are too honest to find a man guilty of felony and send him to the penitentiary or gallows if they believe him innocent. The heat of their indignation against him was a sign of their belief in his crime. Nevertheless, the trial was not fair; the testimony against him was manifestly prejudiced, confused, inconsistent, and wavering; the jurors seized eagerly on whatever tended to convict, and were impatient of evidence and argument in his favor; they were blinded and swayed by the pre-conceptions and passions which prevailed through the whole community against the religious or political creed, the family or the social class, of the accused. Can they be credited with thorough sincerity? or excused by their partial sincerity?

"He began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy." This insidious, wide-spread leaven vitiates the plea of sincerity which we are so ready to offer, and in which we place so much trust. Few will confess, or even suspect, that they are tainted with the odious vice of hypocrisy, or even in serious danger of such contamination. All admire sincerity and despise a hypocrite. But then many have very narrow and superficial views of the beautiful virtue of sincerity and of the loathsome vice of insincerity. Hypocrisy in its grossest, extreme form is not general—the hypocrisy of the false friend who, like Joab, asks after the health of his brother, and takes him by the beard

to kiss him, but holds a sword concealed in his hands, and smites him therewith in the fifth rib; or, like Judas, betrays his Master with a kiss for silver; of the crafty politician who advocates before the people one set of measures with the purpose of carrying out the opposite policy as soon as he is in power; of the professed Christian who in public makes a great show of zeal for the faith, and of strict sanctity, in order to get money, reputation, office, or power, or overthrow virtue, while in secret he ridicules religion and indulges every lust. Nevertheless, hypocrisy, acting a part, appearing to be other and better than we are, claiming purer and loftier motives and aims than the reality, abounds in general society and in the Church; and these deceivers are also self-deceived. Let no man easily take it for granted that Jesus Christ would not say to him, Thou hypocrite! If we convince our readers not merely of the possibility, but of the real danger, of what we may call unconscious and yet guilty hypocrisy, we shall do them a service.

Lack of sincerity is shown by a comparison of the judgments we pass on ourselves and on other men. If honest, we would try ourselves by a standard not less strict than that by which we try our fellows; and our condemnation and abhorrence of our own sins in them. It is hypocrisy to condemn in another what we allow in ourselves; and what we call honest indignation against wrong is often proved to be selfish and uncharitable, because we are guilty of like or equal wrong with little shame and compunction. Esau had a deadly hatred against Jacob, the supplanter who by subtlety took away his blessing; but he forgot that he had sworn away his birthright to his brother for a consideration. Jacob was sharp and hard at a bargain; but what a hypocrite was Laban, his father-in-law, who deceived him in the promise of Rachel, changed his wages ten times, and pretended to be sorely hurt in his parental affections because he had stolen off secretly, and not suffered him to kiss his sons and daughters, and send them away with mirth and songs, with tabret and harp! That chiding between father-in-law and son-in-law is an impressive illustration of human insincerity, each presenting his own cause with plausible exaggeration, and painting in darkest colors his own grievances; and such quarrels between two self-seeking and crafty

men, each of whom tries to get the advantage and is thrown into a passion of indignation if he himself be outwitted and overreached, are not rare in any age. "Bring her forth and let her be burned," said stern Judah against Tamar, who had played the harlot; but soon he was forced to acknowledge, "She hath been more righteous than I," and then he did not see any necessity that either should perish by fire. "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die. And he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity." Well spoken, royal David, faithful protector of thy flock, and avenger of evil deeds, though done by the rich and great! What tenderness of conscience, what generous zeal against meanness, what generous pity for a poor oppressed subject, this just sentence displays! But alas! the king had taken from brave and loyal Uriah, not a pet lamb, the only one of the house, but a beautiful and beloved wife, his only love, though David had many wives; and to this outrage he had added the murder of the injured man. "Thou hypocrite!" But are we not hypocrites, too? Are we not more lenient to our own offenses than to those of others? "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

The zeal of propagandism has often a large alloy of unconscious hypocrisy. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves." Love for Jehovah and truth was their professed inspiration; but if this had been their real spirit, instead of being content with gaining converts, they would have led them on to purity of heart and life by example and precept. Are our Churches and Sunday-schools as enthusiastic in promoting virtue and saving souls as in swelling their own number and power? Doubtless there is much pure zeal, but the motive of proselytism in not a few cases is composed two thirds, if not three, of love of party and desire for its domination. Nor

is this insincerity, this aiming at success of party under pretense of aiming at success of principles, peculiar to religious bodies; we find it in politics, in rival schools of philosophy, and every-where. The history of persecution furnishes a notable instance, or, rather, a large class of instances. Religious bodies when proscribed and down-trodden have seen clearly the beauty, obligation, and utility of toleration, of liberty of thought and conscience; have argued cogently and remonstrated with wounded feelings against the narrowness, cruelty, and folly of attempting to serve the cause of truth and God by fines, fetters, stripes, and death; but no sooner had they waxed powerful in numbers and influence, and been established in authority, than they verily believed themselves in conscience bound, for the sake of truth, social good, and the salvation of souls, to punish all heretics, and propagate their own faith by sword and fagot. Hypocrites, though self-deceived!

A third instance of hypocrisy is the strictness with which men have insisted on minor details of virtue and piety, and their looseness in respect to the great fundamental principles of morality. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." Those men clamored against the sin of violating the sanctity of the Sabbath by healing the sick, and against the sin of eating with publicans and sinners, overlooking the sublime words of their own Scriptures, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." They sacrificed the spirit to the letter, moral principle to the minutest points of ritual, and the plain sense of God's word to tradition. There are men now who devour widows' houses, and make long prayers, in private as well as in public; who dare not go to bed without first kneeling before God, whose law of justice and charity they habitually break; men who make a great ado against a glass of wine or a cigar, and yet, with scarce a twinge of conscience, cheat in trade or backbite a neighbor; men who would feel condemned and humiliated if they failed to pay their pew rent and partake of the Lord's Supper monthly, and yet cherish malice the year round; men who would not be caught in a theater for thousands

of dollars, and yet are full of bitterness and almost cursing against their brethren, and feel only the holier on this account. These cases are possible only through defect of honesty. And yet, such are the windings and twistings of the human heart, the apology often made for minor faults by comparing them with those of greater gravity savors also of hypocrisy. "It is better to whirl and hug in the dance than to spend the evening in talking and hearing slander. A Sunday excursion of pleasure is not so bad as defrauding *employés* of their wages and grinding the poor. We do not attend prayer-meetings, but we do pay our debts and help the needy." But mark the lesson of the great Teacher: "These," less duties, "ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." In setting forth the transcendent worth of the grand principles of righteousness which underlie all particular precepts, the Master did not command, nor allow, the omission of less weighty matters of the law or of conscience.

A like sign of insincerity is the attention men pay to the outer form of religion, while careless of its spirit. When they do their alms they sound a trumpet before them, when they pray they love to be seen of men, and when they fast they put on a sad face. They cleanse the outside of the cup and platter, but within are full of extortion and excess. It may be thought that all these are cases of arrant hypocrisy; that these persons assume for worldly purposes a show of virtue and piety which they are fully conscious that they do not possess. But this is a mistake. Though their chief motive is the pride of goodness and love of praise, they credit themselves with wonderful charity and devotion, and promise themselves favor and reward from God. When circumstances have stripped off the sheep's clothing from a wolf and the lion's skin from an ass, the wolf and ass have oftentimes been as much astonished at the disclosure of their real nature as the bystanders, and have suffered the loss of self-respect as keenly as the loss of reputation. How little we discern the earthly and selfish motives of our own moral, benevolent, and pious behavior! and yet how quickly detect, or, without knowing, suspect, these motives in our fellows! Consider, too, the large number who look more to reward from God than to worldly reputation, and yet seek his favor not by cultivating the spirit of purity and love, but by a

merely exterior morality, and by zeal in building churches and like good works. They say, "Lord, Lord," but do not the Father's will, and they vainly trust to be accepted in the judgment. Hypocrisy has blinded their minds to the truth; thorough sincerity would soon show them their error.

A very bad, and yet common, form of hypocrisy consists in a pretended zeal for the right and indignation against iniquity, when the real prompting is selfishness and hate. We seek to arouse the virtuous feeling of our neighbors against injustice and corruption, and we seem to be aflame with such sentiments ourselves, whereas the secret motive is a personal advantage we hope to secure, or a personal grudge we hope to gratify. So general is this insincerity, that when a man is very angry and very much disgusted with certain conduct, the suspicion arises that his own interests have been touched, or else that he is envious, jealous, or resentful at the persons whom he censures so severely in the name of righteousness. How sharp men are in criticism; how dreadful in denunciation of the faults of their personal, political, and denominational opponents; how keen and unsparing in exposing all the shams, sophistries, and hollow excuses by which those faults would be concealed or extenuated! And all this they profess to do through mere love of virtue and fair dealing; and they persuade themselves—strange infatuation—that they deserve honor of the public for the noble spirit they have displayed and the service they have rendered to the cause of pure and lofty morals. "And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the Sabbath-day, and said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them, therefore, come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath-day. The Lord then answered him and said, Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath-day? And when he had said these things all his adversaries were ashamed." Their shallow and false reasonings were so exposed, and the real motives of their accusation against the pure and merciful Jesus, that they felt humbled and ashamed of themselves; but

so little love of truth and holiness had they, and so much of pride and vain glory, that they soon fell back into self-admiration, and into haughty contempt and hot indignation toward others who omitted a punctilio and overstrained interpretation of the law, while their own hearts were empty of the love on which rest all the commandments. "Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned; but what sayest thou?" High respect for Moses and desire to know present duty were the avowed motives of the question, yet in their hearts they sought only a ground of accusation against the holy Teacher. "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her;" and at this reply they were convicted by their own consciences, and silently went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last. "Why was not this ointments old for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein." Many excuse themselves from giving to missions on the plea that the money is needed at home, and yet give meagerly whatever may be the appeal, and spend freely for their own gratification, or invest largely that they may build up a fortune. "Wherefore all this waste?" they ask, as they look at costly churches; and perhaps the funds might have been more usefully expended, but these critics keep their money in their own pockets instead of bestowing it liberally for the relief of the necessitous whom they profess to pity, and to whose benefit they would convert the superfluous cost of cathedrals; and in some cases they may even impoverish honest laborers by their trickery and extravagance.

Responsibility for belief cannot be rationally disputed, though it is limited, and we should be careful to rest it on the right ground. No one can be justly blamed for involuntary, unavoidable ignorance and error. Our knowledge is scant, our judgments are fallible. We are accountable for the talents committed to our keeping, five, two, or one, and for these only; but the faithful use and consequent improvement of these is a duty. We are under obligation to add to our knowledge, correct our mistakes, invite and welcome light; to examine and judge earnestly, cautiously, candidly, patiently. Men say that they cannot change the constitution of their minds; that convic-

tion belongs to the logical faculty and not to the will; that they must believe according to the evidence; that they have no control of their opinions. But experience teaches that we do possess power over our attention; that we may elect or refuse to investigate a subject; that we may either content ourselves with what we already know and believe, or collect diligently all possible information; that we may weigh the whole evidence, or fix our mind on a part and turn it away altogether from the remainder; that we may be guilty of nearly all the unfairness and one-sidedness in arguing a question in our own mind that are usually suggested by the phrase "special pleadings." Attention has been beautifully described as a natural prayer for the enlightenment of reason; and with this natural prayer we should join, on moral and religious questions, earnest supplications for the wisdom from above, the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Ignorance is no justification where we might and should have known; the plea of following conscience cannot avail if we take not pains to instruct conscience, or fail to inquire, with that simplicity of soul which thrusts self aside, and asks only, What wilt thou have me to do? if we listen rather to pride, passion, self-interest, or self-will. Willful blindness, self-stultification, imposing on ourselves sophistries so gross that we would promptly detect and denounce them if employed by opponents of our own cherished opinions or purposes, believing what we would like to be true rather than what is proven, are facts too frequent and obvious to be denied. The guilt is not in following conscience, but in not following it fully; the sincerity is not complete, not profound, not thorough, but partial and superficial.

We are very incompetent judges in the case of others, how far their darkness and errors are voluntary and, therefore, guilty. To them we should be lenient, while seeking to set them right; but our own hearts we should search with all diligence and honesty, and not accept lightly the plea for our mistakes that they proceeded from lack of light or weakness of judgment. There is one historical case to which we can apply these principles, because we have revelation as our guide—the case of Saul the Pharisee and Paul the Christian. Sincerity, in the popular, less profound sense, must be granted to Saul. He blasphemed Jesus because he believed him an im-

postor, and persecuted his disciples because he believed that this was doing God service. He always affirmed his conscientiousness in these things. He was not a hypocrite of the type of those who professed zeal for Jehovah and Israel while secretly infidel or indifferent, or of those who affected moral strictness in public while privately wallowing in licentiousness. Such hypocrisy he loathed and scorned. His guilt was not so great as if he had rejected and persecuted the Nazarene, knowing him to be the Messiah. "Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." The same mitigation of guilt was pleaded by the Crucified in behalf of his murderers, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." But neither in the case of those who with wicked hands crucified and slew our Lord, nor in the case of the young man who consented unto the death of Stephen and wasted the Church, were ignorance and a false belief a justification. Saul confessed himself a great sinner, the chief of sinners. Wherein? For doing what he honestly held to be his duty, misled, not by a bad heart, not by a will which yielded to evil, but by unavoidable ignorance? Not so; but because he cherished pride, self-righteousness, contempt of his fellow-men, and vindictiveness, which were immoral, shut his eyes against the plain teachings of the Scriptures and the credentials of Jesus, and perverted his views of duty. Our Lord condemned the Jews who did not receive him, and the condemnation was based on this ground, not indeed that they were convinced of his Messiahship in their hearts while they denied him with their lips and lives, but that light had come to them, and they preferred darkness; that they could not appreciate the truth of his doctrine and the divine glory of his kingdom, because of that worldly and carnal soul which sought the loaves and fishes, and the honors which come from men; that they were blinded, hardened, and enslaved by the lusts of their depraved nature and the want of any true love to God or man, and, therefore, were out of harmony with the truth, and under the yoke of falsehood and unbelief. Paul came to see that the secret source of his pharisaic zeal and anti-Christian hate was not a genuine hunger and thirst after righteousness, not the supreme love to God which humbles, purifies, and enlight-

ens, which excites tenderness, gentleness, forbearance and benevolence to all men, not a self-renouncing and truth-seeking spirit, but unspiritual, worldly, unholy tempers and aims that mislead the conscience, that are a film over the inner vision, that are in fact both inhuman and impious. In one place, it is true, many interpreters think that he claims a perfect sincerity in those blaspheming and persecuting times. "And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day." Some interpret, "I have discharged my apostolic office." But whether he referred to his whole past life, or only to the part since his conversion, we may safely say that he did not mean to claim for his pharisaism that singleness of eye which the heart-searching God approves, because he condemned himself with great severity for his course, and because inspiration condemned other Jews of the same day and circumstances for their unbelief. His Christian consciousness of sincerity he described in these comprehensive and beautiful words: "For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world." He threw open all the windows of his soul; there was in him no duplicity, but simplicity, singleness; not a manifold nor even a twofold motive and intention, not an appearing to seek one object and a real seeking of somewhat quite different, but all his thoughts lay unfolded for inspection, and his whole aim was to serve God and save souls; his was the sincerity before God which stands the searching test of the pure and brilliant sunbeams; he was not guided by carnal wisdom, the policy that seeks a selfish and worldly success, or scruples not at the means by which to secure a worthy end; he was inspired and directed by the Spirit of truth, holiness, and love in his aims and methods. There was a crystal clearness in his conscientiousness, a crucifixion of self, a fullness of consecration, an abounding charity, a harmony of his whole soul and conduct with the first principles of virtue and piety, which differed radically from his state when his very breath was fiery with threatenings and slaughter, and he was swept along by the madness of pride and revenge. True, "touching the righteousness which is in the law," he was "blameless." But this was an outward and

ceremonial righteousness of the letter and not of the spirit; not the righteousness which Micah described: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" not the righteousness which Christ described, "The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; there is none other commandment greater than this."

To sum up: 1. The standard of truth and duty does not depend on human opinions. The most thorough conscientiousness in Saul of Tarsus, if proved, could not change the facts of the indictment, that he fought against the truth, blasphemed the Son of God and Saviour of mankind, and persecuted the saints in violation of justice and charity. 2. The sufferings he inflicted on the disciples and the moral injury of his example on his own people are not the less real because of the honesty of his convictions. When converted, he must have looked back on his conduct with regret, if not with remorse. 3. His proud self-complacency in an outward and ritual righteousness which lacked the heart of love, his arrogant and scornful bigotry, and his fierce delight in persecuting the Church, reacted on himself in narrowing and perverting his moral nature, in stifling all sweet and lovely sentiments, and making him harsh, tyrannical, and vindictive. Yet his conscientiousness preserved him from the reprobacy and baseness of those who slander and tread down what they know to be sacred and divine. We feel a degree of admiration for the earnestness with which he maintained his own principles, but it is mingled with detestation of his haughty and blood-thirsty intolerance. 4. His innocence or guilt must be determined, not by our light and advantages, but by those amid which he lived. A perfectly sincere Israelite might hold up his head in judgment as well as a perfectly sincere Christian. Complete sincerity seeks with all the soul and strength to know what is true in creed and right in act, for the love of truth and holiness, and does not obscure, nor color, nor refract the light in the interest of covetousness,

ambition, or pleasure, or for the gratification of pride of opinion, blood, or character, or to exalt one party and depress another. We do not attribute to this simplicity, this singleness of intention, omniscience or infallibility, for the soundest eye can see only in the light, and the vision will be dim when the light is feeble. But we do affirm that it is an obligatory virtue and the necessary condition of using aright the light given; that to the single eye God reveals duty and also his own uncreated beauty and glory. Unless we are in this moral state, we cannot claim to be accepted by the Searcher of all hearts, though we believe that creed we confess, and obey the dictates of our conscience. A true estimate of the innocence or guilt of Saul may be formed by comparing two verses in the same chapter (1 Tim. i, 13, 16) which assign different, but not inconsistent, reasons for the special mercy he received, "But I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." "Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting." Did Saul utter blasphemies against one whom he knew to be the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, crucified out of love for a guilty world? Did he know that he was wasting the elect of God, the Church, which is Christ's bride? Not of that wickedness was he capable, or he would have been past hope of conversion, past mercy. God had pity on the blinded sinner. But he was not like Simeon, who waited to see the salvation of God. Jesus could not have said of him as of Nathanael, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" He had not the love of truth and righteousness which led John and James, Peter and Andrew, to be first disciples of the Baptist and then of Jesus. It was mercy, great mercy, that bore with his unbelief, and gave him a special revelation of the Son of God that he might be convinced and saved. His is a monumental case of the long-suffering and grace of Jesus Christ.

ART. III.—THE REGENERATION OF PALESTINE.

PALESTINE has been for many years a land of ruins ; and ever since its chosen people were banished, as a nation, from its confines, members of the race have indulged in spasmodic efforts to regain its fertile plains, beautiful valleys, and crowning city, as their own. But these efforts have not been national, not even general, and, as a rule, have been little more than vain and enthusiastic plans plaguing the brains and torturing the hearts of a few of the faithful who have hoped to see Jerusalem regained and Israel re-established in his ancient home.

Within the last few years the Jews of some of the European capitals—London and Paris especially—have made some concerted trials to effect organization, and to proceed in a regular manner to possess the land and make it their own. The wealth and influence of Montefiore and the Rothschilds, in combination with the labors of the "Alliance Israelite" of Paris, have succeeded at least in calling the attention of the world to the fact that the Jews are again active in the matter of regenerating the Promised Land, and fitting it for the advent of their long-looked-for Messiah ; and occasional announcements of their enthusiasm and success have led to the popular belief that they are quite likely to be successful in their endeavors. We have been told that their promised inheritance is rapidly becoming their own, and that a remarkable change is taking place through them in the Holy Land. It is stated that the scepter is even now virtually in the hands of that stanch Israelite, Baron Rothschild, who, for the loan of two hundred millions of francs to the Sultan, has a mortgage on the entire land, and may possess it any moment he pleases. According to these floating stories, great improvements are going on among the Jews of Jerusalem and the whole country ; they are building up a new city in and around Jerusalem ; are founding schools, hospitals, and newspapers ; and a body of Venetian Jews is sustaining an agricultural school with a view to train up a community of their brethren to be tillers of the soil. The number of Hebrew residents has doubled, according to these statements, in the last ten years, and every thing is on the high road of modern improvement, even to a railroad, etc.

Now, it is clear that these things are set afloat by interested parties and circulated by ignorant ones, and they are gladly believed because it would be gratifying to the world at large to see this land of ruins regenerated, and at least fitted for the abode of men if not for the coming of the Messiah, either of the Jews or the Gentiles. But in the main these accounts are not true, and they have become of late so rife and mischievous that there appeared in a late issue of the *New York Christian Advocate* the following rejoinder to them all, from an authority well-known to our Church and the nation, and which, we need hardly say, puts a very different face on the matter :

JEW'S RETURNING TO ZION.

We have just clipped from a religious journal the following article on the return of the Jews to the land of their fathers, and the improved condition of Palestine, which contains so many statements calculated to mislead the public, I deem a correction necessary:

"Meanwhile, a railroad stretches over a part of the Holy Land; the scream of the iron horse echoes among the hills and valleys where the old prophet long ago uttered his prediction of a chariot that in the great preparation day of the Lord would run like lightning. There are also two hundred and fifty Protestant Churches worshipping among the sacred hills; and seven hundred and sixty children in the Sunday-schools of Palestine ring out the very hymns and songs that our children know and sing here in America. Baron Rothschild, at the time of the last loan of two hundred million francs made to Turkey, accepted a mortgage on the whole of Palestine. Owing to the Jewish immigration, the population of Palestine has more than doubled during the last ten years."

The facts are: There is not a railroad in all Palestine. "The scream of the iron horse" has never broken the deathly silence that pervades the land. There is not an American missionary in the Holy Land, nor a Sunday-school; but one Protestant Church in Jerusalem, another outside the walls, and one at Nazareth. The Jewish population has increased during the last few years, but the population of the country has more rapidly decreased. The Jews have no intention of re-occupying the land. They go there to die, not to live. No Jew around Jerusalem owns or cultivates an acre of ground. Baron Rothschild has no mortgage on Palestine. He could easily purchase the country if he wanted it, but he does not covet it. The Jews of Europe and America will never return to Palestine unless forced back at the point of the bayonet.

F. S. DE HASS,

Late U. S. Consul at Jerusalem.

Now, harsh as these assertions may seem, they are corroborated by other authorities that we might quote, and by frequent correspondence from the Holy Land on the part of intelligent and disinterested observers. And it may now be well to consider the present condition of the country, and obtain a candid view of the real efforts that are being made by various parties to improve the condition of things in Palestine; for there are many eyes turned thitherward in holy zeal and with a hope, almost forlorn, to be able by degrees to regenerate the land. But we need hardly say that the day has gone by, if it ever existed, when men of sound mind went thither as ordinary emigrants, in the hope of bettering their condition and making a fortune. When Canaan was the fertile land of milk and honey we can comprehend why foreign nations regarded it with longing eyes and desired to pitch their tents and guard their flocks on its plains. But at present the soil will not, certainly does not, support one tenth of the population that then lived in plenty. The mountains are at present without forests, and, being scorched by the sun, are poor in running streams. Their sides were once made fruitful by terraces of rich earth, which long ago by neglect were allowed to be washed down by the rains into the water-courses, so that one sees every-where little else than bald and barren precipices. The fig, the olive, and the grape, once the glory and support of the land, are now so meager and so poor as to have lost much of their value and fame.

The country possesses three large and fertile plains, which might be made the sources of great wealth. But the valley of the Jordan lies fallow because of the inertness of the government in superintending its irrigation, and what little is now produced is quite likely to become the spoil of the nomadic and thieving Bedouins. The plain of Esdraelon and the plain skirting the sea are still valuable, even with their primitive mode of cultivation; with a generously renewed soil and a modern style of culture they might be made mines of wealth. The natives, however, will make no effort to improve the condition of the land and introduce new methods, and strangers can hardly live there on account of the deadly fever. The Mennonites, who leave Russia in large numbers to escape military duty, and who are just now coming to us, for awhile tried the plain of Sharon along the sea, but in the course of a

year so many of them died of the fever that the rest gathered up their effects, sacrificed what money they had invested, and came away.

The cultivation of the land by the native peasants—the so-called fellahs—amounts to merely enough to keep them from starving. If they produce a bushel of grain more than they need for their direct wants, it is taken from them by the Turkish tax-gatherers, who are experts in extortion. The extreme poverty of the poor natives is their only protection, and so the land lies neglected year after year. In the line of industry there is not any more encouragement: there is no market for their products, neither in the back country nor on the coast, for there are no ports for convenient export. All the ancient artificial harbors are in ruins, with one exception, that of Jaffa, which, though sufficient for the small sailing craft of ancient days, cannot accommodate the steamers of the period; these sometimes, therefore, lie for days before Jaffa in a storm, waiting to land passengers, or they carry them past to other ports to be taken back to Jaffa by some returning vessel that may have better weather and consequently better success.

There is only one passable road in the country—that which leads from Jaffa to Jerusalem—and it is going to decay. It was made some nine years ago, and has been neglected ever since. For a time there was some talk of a railroad on this route from the port of Jaffa to Jerusalem; but the French company that proposed it did so as a matter of speculation, and as soon as it was seen that it could not be made to pay, the project was abandoned. No enterprise, indeed, can be carried on that needs fuel, for there is but little to be had; and therefore manufactures that depend on it for steam power, as well as railroads, can have no success. Consequently camels are still the main means of transport for what little merchandise there is, which, indeed, scarcely extends beyond the olive-wood wares from Jerusalem and the mother-of-pearl work from Bethlehem. Even these industries are far from lucrative because of the active competition caused by the excessively narrow sphere for industrial labor.

These are clearly no very attractive conditions, and one is, therefore, surprised that men are ever inclined to go thither as emigrants, to better their material condition; and, indeed, none have done so except a few visionary enthusiasts, like the

Adams Colony, which emigrated from Maine a few years ago, but quickly fell in pieces, some of the colonists returning home, charitably assisted to do so by our authorities, and a few remaining to eke out a precarious existence as guides and dragomans to American and English visitors. Those who go to stay must have some stronger motive than that of making money. The Jews go in religious fanaticism, many of them to live and die as recipients of charity, if not as paupers. All the efforts that have been made at times in this country to get up colonies of Jews for Palestine have failed. The Israelites of this country know well enough that for them the Land of Promise is to be found in our large commercial centers, which have for them more attractions than Jerusalem itself. The only power that moves them thither is religious enthusiasm; not even persecution can do it, for they put up with every thing rather than desert their rich opportunities in the great cities of Europe and America. The present irritated feeling about the Jews in Germany will not send one of them to Palestine. Those who go thither are impelled by religious motives only, and of these there are not many in comparison to the thousands scattered about the world.

For the last few years about four hundred have gone thither annually, as our consul says, "not to live but to die." These are mostly from Russia, and they come not so much to avoid military duty as to flee from the conflicts with their own brethren—the Reform or Progressive Jews. The strife between the Orthodox and the Liberal Jews often becomes so bitter as to divide families and introduce the greatest antagonism. The adherents of the Talmud would rather leave their homes than endeavor to live in peace with those who follow the dictates of the Cabala. The Russian and Polish Jews are extremely strong in their prejudices, and nothing can move them from their purpose. They believe that the kingdom of the Messiah will soon be re-established in Palestine, in accordance with the words of the prophet, and those who are there will be received with rejoicing. This hope to them is a magic power, and if not fulfilled during their lives, they will at least have the pleasure of laying down their bones in the valley of Jehoshaphat, whence they can see the coming of the Lord to judge the heathen and all oppressors of their people. And

therefore are found among them so many old and decrepit men, who simply come to spend the evening of their days on the sacred mountain, and pray, and be buried, in view of the site of the ancient temple.

The present condition of the Jewish colonies in Palestine is any thing but desirable. They are forced for protection to reside together in certain fixed settlements. Nobody likes them, and they could not settle anywhere at random; Oriental Christians, as well as Moslems, would persecute them, for Oriental Christians are experts in intolerance. There are now in the Holy Land about twenty-one thousand Jews, who live mostly in the rabbinical cities—Jerusalem, Saffed, Tiberias, and Hebron. About fifteen hundred live in the commercial centers, but the largest number is to be found in Jerusalem—thirteen thousand. These differ very greatly in costume and speech, according to their origin. Half of them are Spanish Jews, who took refuge here when expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. In language, appearance, and dress they all betray their southern origin. The so-called German Jews are mostly Russian, Polish, or from the Danubian Principalities. They are very tenacious of their costume, even to the fur cap, though in a warm southern country. Many of them are slovenly and filthy in appearance, and well calculated to inspire disgust at sight. One sees the same type at all the great fairs of Germany and Russia. Then there are some five hundred hailing from Northern Africa, who are in reality Arabs, and thus resemble the natives. But each of these groups has its national peculiarities, and they all have their antagonisms. The only national bond is the Hebrew tongue, which all male Jews must understand.

The Jews are mostly confined to their own quarter in Jerusalem, as they are in all the large cities of Europe; they are now, however, inclined to infringe on the Christian quarter, and especially to extend their district outside of the gates. But they largely tend to herd together and live in densely populated houses, partly for the reason that they may have access to the same cisterns for water, in the use of which they are forced to be very economical; indeed, many of them live almost without air, light, or water, and the result is a great mortality from fevers and other diseases, induced by uncleanly

habits. Most of those who come bring a little money with them, but, in the absence of any remunerative employment, this soon runs out, and the impoverished depend on benevolence for support; and they would all assuredly starve were it not for the practice of the Jews in Europe to send large sums to the Holy Land for the support of their co-religionists. All Orthodox Jews continue to pay the ancient temple-tax, in the shape of alms for their brothers in the Holy City. Even the Liberal Jews of the European capitals will do this, in order to counteract the efforts of the Christian missions, which, as we know, make but little progress in reforming them. There is thus a steady stream of money flowing in to the rabbies for the support of synagogues, hospitals, poor-houses, and hospices for the temporary shelter of the unfortunate. In confirmation of which let the reader peruse the note below, lately sent from the Holy Land in correspondence to the "New York Herald," by a gentleman who has lived there for over a dozen years:

JAFFA, November 12, 1879.

"The Jews Regaining their Land," is the title of a paragraph going the rounds of the papers, to the effect that, "owing to the Jewish immigration, the population of Palestine has more than doubled during the last ten years." As a resident of this country since 1867 I can positively deny this statement. Many Jews, it is true, have come to live in Jerusalem, (not in other places,) or rather to lay their bones in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, during the past decade, but it is incorrect to declare that "the population of Palestine has been doubled" by such immigration. The population of this land was 1,200,000 ten years ago, and to maintain it has doubled would give us an influx of 1,200,000 Jews. The truth is that about five thousand have come to Jerusalem during the past ten years. Of these a large number have died, but others may have taken their places, leaving the number about the same. Nearly all these Jews live in poverty, and make appeals from time to time to their wealthy brethren in Europe and America for means to maintain themselves and their families. The immigration is, in fact, an influx of paupers, who expect to live in idleness upon the savings of their relatives in other lands who may take pity upon their destitution. Some are eventually disgusted at the penury which the rabbies' strict rule often enforces, and return to the countries whence they came. I helped a few weeks ago a poor American Hebrew to return to New York, and the United States Consul at Jerusalem has given assistance to many of various nationalities out of a fund sent him for that purpose. I am informed that there are sixty charity associations in Jerusalem, a city of 25,000 inhabitants.

These Jews of Palestine are neither inclined nor able to engage in trading or industrial pursuits; they have no culture for any thing higher; and their entire energy is, therefore, concentrated on the matter of religion, which, in a certain sense, pays them, either from the poor fund or from their own zealous endeavors in behalf of others. A goodly number of the Polish and Russian Jews make a living by offering for their friends at home daily prayers, which, since the destruction of the temple, may take the place of the ancient sacrifices. For these they receive a regular stipend, which seems to satisfy both parties, though the prayer becomes a mere mechanical performance, totally destitute of unction and consecration; indeed, they are evidently a very burdensome task to the operators. Even the young men seem to have no ambition to work for an honest living, and their highest aim is to be promoted to the rabbinical order, to which end all their studies are directed. All studies are neglected that do not aim to fit them for the peculiar sect to which they may chance to belong. They thus acquire a skill in memorizing the *minutiae* of the Talmud, and maintaining hair-splitting disputations on points of the law; but they entertain a supreme contempt for the sciences and all the other refinements of western civilization.

This state of things has been greatly regretted by intelligent Jews in Europe, who for many years have been making fruitless efforts to effect some improvement. In this connection we may make honorable mention of Sir Moses Montefiore, the distinguished English Jew, who at the advanced age of ninety-three years, even now, it is said, contemplates a visit to Jerusalem to inspire energy into plans that he has created for the regeneration of his people and the country. His purse has long been open to their calls, and our journals have periodical paragraphs relating to the enterprises that are being carried on under the auspices of his bounty; but it is very doubtful if any good results from it. His friend and colleague in good efforts, Baron Rothschild, of Paris, has also not been weary in well-doing; and the Parisian Jews, under the lead of the statesman Cremieux, lately deceased, some time ago formed a Jewish league, termed the "Alliance Israelite," whose object is to aid the Jews of Palestine to help themselves. But the very moment any proposition is made to them to cast away their sluggish

inertness, they find a thousand reasons for opposing it; nothing satisfies them that is not according to the letter of ancient law. This Parisian Alliance resolved to establish an agricultural school and colony near Jaffa, in the hope of introducing a better system of tilling the land, and above all of leading the young Jews to take an interest in agricultural pursuits, which would give them an honorable support and develop the latent wealth of the country.

A considerable sum of money was expended in securing a fine farm, erecting buildings, and supplying stock and agricultural utensils. But the Orthodox Jews, who still hold to the ancient laws—and they are by far the most numerous—looked coolly on the whole enterprise, and would have nothing to do with it unless the undertakers would consent to observe the sabbatical year, pay tithes for the priests and Levites, and make contributions for the elders. These exactions, of course, settle the case, for under the best of circumstances the enterprise would be a losing affair; while thus burdened it cannot be a success. This matter is also alluded to by the aforesaid correspondent from the Holy Land, and we feel it well to have the support of his assertions, which are as follows:

ATTEMPTS AT AGRICULTURE.

Sir Moses Montefiore has often aided his indigent countrymen, and recently sent a donation to the Judah Touro poor-houses. He is an advocate of the scheme of founding agricultural Jewish colonies in Palestine, and suggested that a fund be raised in London for this object, and thus give employment to worthy Israelites. The success of such an undertaking is doubtful, judging from the attempt that has been made to found an agricultural model farm on the plains of Sharon, under the patronage of the "Alliance Israelite" of Paris. A chief impediment is the fact that the young Jews disdain work so long as they can live upon charity. Much has been made in European journals of the growth of Jerusalem of late by the building of houses outside of the walls. A number of new dwellings have, indeed, been erected on the Jaffa and Bethlehem roads during the last ten years by both Jews and Christians, following the example of the Protestant and Russian missions, which first began to do so. These houses, being built over cisterns of rain-water, are, for the most part, nests of typhus and malarial fevers, and, instead of contributing to the health of the city, have materially added to the prevalent insalubriousness of Jerusalem. In the city itself the soil is so saturated with the accumulated impurities of

past generations that any disturbance of the ground for building purposes invariably engenders malignant fevers. Captain Warren, R. E., and his corps of assistants, while making explorations and excavations in and about Jerusalem, suffered terribly from this cause. The scarcity of pure water is another source of evil at the Holy City, and although an abundant supply could be brought from the ancient pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem, yet all efforts to repair or rebuild the aqueduct are thwarted by the fanaticism of the Moslem rulers. Baroness Burdett-Coutts offered the municipality £30,000 for this purpose several years ago, but her munificent gift was rejected on the ground that it was "unlawful to receive money from a Christian for the expense of conveying the 'gift of God' [water] to the holy mosque of Omar and to the holy Moslem city 'El Khuds.'"

It is very clear, therefore, that not much is to be expected from the Jews, as regenerators of the Holy Land, and there is not any hope of an improvement in the character of their immigration. As long as they will obstinately bring back the past rather than make an effort to introduce the manifold improvements and methods of the present, so long they will be in the way of any progress in Palestine. Indeed, the land seems cursed with all sorts of burdens; from Turks to Jews there is scarcely an element of its population that is not baneful to it, while its government by the Sultan is simply disgusting. The Turkish rule has no other interest than to farm the country out to tax-gatherers, whose extortions are so fearful that they lie like an Alp on every effort at improvement. If the Grand Turk could be bought out or driven out, and the land placed under an intelligent and progressive rule, it might again be made to blossom as of old. It only needs the *dictum* of the Great Powers to give the Sultan his walking-papers out of Palestine; but as long as these must expend their efforts in keeping up their own political balance, this will not be done. If these Powers were only willing to take Palestine among them, and hold it under an intelligent protectorate, there might also be some light; but as long as the same brutal rule continues there, and the same degraded population curses the land, we may count on nothing good.

Is there, then, no hope for the regeneration of the Holy Land? To this question we reply that we see a ray of light in an honest and intelligent enterprise that seems to have no herald to tell its story to the world. Nothing but new blood and

new ways will effect the purpose, and these, to some extent, have been tried in certain colonies from this and other countries, and have failed. But something more is wanted than even these. The best of capacities must be sustained by a religious zeal and enthusiasm in the work of regenerating the land and preparing it for the second coming of the Lord. And agents of this kind have been silently growing up and gaining experience; and the main object of this article is to call attention to their origin and plans, their struggles, and partial success.

A few years ago there arose in Würtemberg, in Southern Germany, an association of Christian men imbued with the idea that it was their duty to prepare the way of the Lord for his second advent, which they believe will be in the land where he appeared of old. They were under the lead of the venerable Christopher Hoffmann, a most intelligent and enthusiastic divine, who felt himself moved to engage in this work as a special mission. To the German Protestant Church they were zealous and hare-brained enthusiasts, and they received but little encouragement. They termed themselves the Friends of Jerusalem, and declared their purpose to be to restore the "spiritual temple of the Lord in the Holy Land." They believe in the literal interpretation of the prophecies which foretell a glorious regeneration of the "Promised Land," whose citizens will not be Israel according to the flesh, but Israel after the Spirit. They believe they can succeed in making Palestine, in a spiritual and material sense, a model kingdom, which will incite all people to its imitation. In this land Christ will again appear in his glory and assume his throne, and will, for his sympathizing and happy children, inaugurate his reign of a thousand years.

Now, whatever may be said of these religious views, they at least inspired in earnest men that enthusiasm necessary for the great undertaking, in which they were encouraged by the King of Prussia, who had assisted in founding a Christian mission in Jerusalem. This, however, was about the only encouragement they received, for the State Church persecuted them, and the revolutions interfered with them, and their government authorities would not give them aid in negotiating with the Sultan for the privilege of settling in the land with protection; for the policy of the Turk always has been to keep all Chris-

tian effort away from Palestine, and until quite recently it was not possible for foreigners to acquire land; they were merely allowed to settle by sufferance, with the understanding that they might be removed at will. Under such conditions it was, of course, not possible to begin, and especially in Jerusalem, where they desired to make a commencement. Besides, an indispensable condition was a certain amount of capital, which their leader hoped to be able to obtain in Germany, Switzerland, Southern Russia, England, and America, and for which he continued to make great efforts by the formation of filial associations in these countries. At last it was resolved to send out a commission which should travel over the Holy Land and study the situation and all questions which could affect the weal or woe of new colonies going thither to settle. This commission returned in about six months with a passably favorable report, but based too much on the enthusiasm of spiritual zeal to be a practical recommendation to commence the work. It was thought best at first to encourage a few small parties to go out on their own responsibility, but under the shield and sympathy of the body, to stay and try their fortune in beginning a work and making a livelihood. Only a few of these were successful, and some met with a very sad fate from mishaps and climatic fevers. But their experience was valuable, and their counsels as to the best spots for settlement were regarded.

Finally, in 1867, it was resolved to make a formal commencement of the enterprise by a governmental organization. A republican constitution was formed; Mr. Hoffmann was chosen leader, and a Mr. Hardegg made his right-hand man. An executive board was appointed from the various associations and agents to oversee the matter of churches, schools, colonization, industry, and commerce. A party went out, headed by Mr. Hoffmann, and they first visited Constantinople, with the hope of obtaining certain concessions from the Sultan; but with all the influence they could bring to bear, nothing could be effected. They therefore decided to proceed to Syria, and soon after founded a post at Haifa, at the base of Carmel. They bargained for a small piece of property not far from the post, where ten or a dozen families might lay the foundation of a settlement for those who might follow. The next move was the establishment of a permanent mission at Jaffa, as the port

of Jerusalem, and the place to which come all travelers on their way to that city. In this they were favored by the opportunity to buy the houses, mills, and other appurtenances of a Russo-German mission which was just retiring, and also the deserted houses of the Adams Colony, from Maine. The "Temple Association" thus rapidly got a start, and immediately proceeded to lay plans for operations and support. Hospitals and schools were needed, and even a hotel, for there was scarcely a decent refuge for the weary tourist in reaching Jaiffa going to Jerusalem.

And in the midst of all their practical work, which was first necessary in order to lay a foundation for material existence, they also commenced to lay plans for a school of the higher order, that might train civil officers, physicians, teachers, and preachers, that would harmonize in their views regarding the restoration of Palestine. Their profession of faith and constitution are laid down in a work by Rev. Christopher Hoffmann, bearing the title of "Orient and Occident." In this he develops the Mosaic law as far as it can be harmonized with the present order of things, and finally settles on the practical portions of the moral law and the principles of humanity to guide him as a ruler. Mr. Hoffmann is also the author of several works of a religious and historical character combined, in which he indulges in keen analysis and accurate criticism, viewing the course of history for the last two centuries in the light of religious truth, and showing the growing apostasy of the age. He is a man of very extraordinary intellect, and a writer of no mean powers. His great object now is to fight against the social evils of the day, and lay the foundation of a system that may relieve the world from many of its present burdens and inconsistencies. In over-enthusiastic zeal he advances theories that many may find fault with, but this implicit faith in his system and hope in his work make him and his followers peculiarly adapted to meet and wrestle with the difficult material questions to be encountered in his present undertaking. It is success in this line that now mainly interests the world, and to which we think better to devote our labors. If he can regenerate Palestine he will certainly be accounted a general benefactor; and if his religious zeal gives him a key to interest other men in a discouraging and painful work, we can easily afford to

pass lightly over what the world may consider Utopian, to regard that which every one must see is of great practical good.

If any men can succeed in this work, these are they, for they come to regenerate the Promised Land through the sweat of their brow, and they undertake a task that can be carried out only by such men as martyrs are made of. They have already suffered a great deal, but are not discouraged; and it now appears that great social, religious, and political reforms in the Holy Land may eventually be achieved through them. None of their number are allowed to go there except those who have stood the test of trial and examination in their own country. The association refuses to help or send any who do not exhibit the characteristics needed for utility and success; it is not an ordinary emigration, but rather a species of pilgrimage to a shrine, with a lofty purpose.

The "Friends of Jerusalem" began to establish colonies in the Holy Land in 1868, and there are now there four of these, settled in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, and Sharon. These came from Germany, the United States, and Russia, in which countries there are congregations of these Christians who have this cause at heart, and from which the fittest are sent to the Holy Land. We may mention Buffalo, Schenectady, and Chicago, as being centers in this country, and the parties concerned are all Germans. These four colonies are virtually under one control, and each may have specialty in its efforts. Nearly all the men who go are hard-working, thrifty men, who know what it is to battle with life. The most of them are agriculturists, and are, therefore, best adapted to what the land most needs; namely, a practical training in the profitable culture of the soil. Their settlements are just outside of the towns at Jaffa and Haifa, where they have an opportunity to raise, besides the ordinary products of the country, many of the desirable vegetables of their native land. On the heights in the rear of Jaffa they have built up their settlement in such a pleasant manner as to attract the attention of the natives and give them an object-lesson of much more value to them than any theories could be. The pleasant gardens and cheerful-looking houses are becoming the envy of the thriftless natives or indolent fellahs, who are said to stand and regard them with a dreamy admiration that indicates a wish on their part to possess some of the same kind.

In Haifa the colony has also made itself so clearly felt in good examples that at the recent death of the valuable leader of that band, Mr. Hardegg, the entire community seemed to join in tokens of mourning. When the day for the funeral ceremonies arrived, the flags of the various consuls were placed at half-mast, and, to the surprise of every body, the colors of the Turkish Pasha also came down. This is probably the first time that a Turk ever noticed the burial of a Christian. In this settlement there was opened in October last a boarding-school of higher order for girls, with some twenty pupils, in which there are several good teachers, undertaking, besides the ordinary branches, the French and English languages, and music. This will be a great blessing for Christian foreigners settled in Palestine, as well as for the Temple Community itself, who have not known hitherto how to have their daughters educated without sending them away to a great distance. The young ladies can take their exercise on the declivity of Carmel, with a charming prospect of the sea and of the snow-capped summits of Hermon. In Jerusalem a lyceum has been established for boys in the same careful way; both under the general supervision of Rev. Mr. Hoffmann, which is security that the education imparted will be of a Christian nature. These institutions greatly need material aid, and they could not be sustained at all without great sacrifice on the part of the teachers and the Association.

The latest colony founded is that on the plains of Sharon, on the site selected and built on by the Mennonites, who abandoned it in a short time because of the unhealthy situation and the difficulty in making it a profitable enterprise. The Temple Association took for a song what was left, and thus obtained a start. The natural supposition would be that this was not advisable, but the result proves that the enthusiasm and resolve of these men will carry them through difficulties under which others will sink. They placed most of their dwellings on a little more elevated ground, and thus escaped the ravages of the fever, to which they are becoming acclimated, and are now working industriously at their problem, which is to improve the agricultural methods in the country. A firm in Buffalo has presented them with a mowing machine, which is the wonder of the Arabian peasants, but which gives them

some trouble because of the difficulty in getting Arabian steeds that will submit to the control needed to use it properly. This is being remedied by procuring a quieter race of horses. The report of their last harvest was quite gratifying. The land is rich, and seems to appeal to the traveler to stop and till it in a sensible manner. The yield of wheat and barley was good, and nearly all the produce of the field was bountiful. Grapes grew plentifully, and the hay harvest was rich, but they lost quite a number of their cattle from the plague. When the harvest was over, several new houses were erected, and the colonists not thus engaged found fairly profitable employment in transporting produce to Jerusalem. Thus it will be seen that the colonists put their hands to every available industry, and so set a valuable example to the thriftless people around them.

The Palestine of to-day has virtually no industrial occupations; the natives are confined to agriculture, cattle-raising, and trade. This was largely so in the olden time, but the land was then fully cultivated and gave forth a multitude of products. The few miserable struggling cities now on the coast, as the remnants of former times, still live on the little commerce that is carried on; but the population every-where is greatly below the ancient figures. There were then, probably, ten millions of people in the land; now scarcely more than three hundred thousand. This is Palestine as ruined by Turkish rule. Jaffa is now a city of about twenty thousand inhabitants, and has a regular connection with Europe by means of the Austrian Lloyd steamers from Trieste, which stop there twice a week. The harbor is very miserable, and mainly useful for small sailing vessels owned by the Greeks, who do most of the coasting trade; and yet this is the port through which most of the trade of Palestine is done. Haifa is mainly the outlet for the grain from the rich plains of Esdraelon and the mountains of Galilee, but its exporting facilities are not what they once were, and a portion of it is a miserable nest. Nevertheless, the Germans are doing much toward its regeneration. Jaffa is about the only port worth mention, and is the outlet for Jerusalem and all cities on the way or contiguous to it. The Valley of the Jordan and the land of the Moabites send their productions hither, and traders, pilgrims, and tourists, all land at Jaffa on their way to the Holy City.

The Temple Association has, therefore, done well to settle at Jaffa and enter into its industries. The city is surrounded by orange gardens for a considerable distance, which are artificially irrigated, and the oranges are largely exported.

The trade of Jaffa is now increasing, and the imports and exports are becoming more various: they receive coal, coffee, iron, sugar, petroleum, etc., from England, France, Italy, and the United States; and in return send out oranges, olive oil, barley, wheat, soap, etc. The Germans are engaging largely in the manufacture of soap from olive oil, and bid fair to build the business up to respectable proportions. It is a very acceptable article for the toilet, and may be procured at reasonable prices of many of the druggists in our cities; it is very solid and lasting, and is growing more popular with every year. The imports of Palestine were in 1878 about \$375,000, and the exports \$1,500,000. In contact with Europeans the natives must soon learn to raise more and need more, and thus largely increase the trade. With the growing inclination to increase our trade in the Mediterranean and contiguous waters, it would not cost our vessels much more time to go to Palestine with coal in ballast, and bring back cargoes of Oriental fruits, olive oil, and the soap mentioned above. Coal is the great desideratum to progress in Palestine; it is needed for mills and machinery of all kinds on account of the dearth of fuel. Even building timber is brought into Palestine from Turkey and Austria. The era of steam mills is likely to commence now by the enterprise of the German colonists. The last accounts inform us that they are constructing one in Jerusalem, much to the mystification of the natives, who see no water with which to run it. But the fuel will be a far more difficult question than water, and not much can be done in this line until the "coal question" can be settled.

The import trade is almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners, among whom the Germans have two large houses, one in Jerusalem and another in Jaffa. The heaviest import is that of salt, amounting to three millions of pounds, a greater weight than that of all other articles together. The cause of this is, doubtless, the fact that salt is used by all the inhabitants of Palestine, whereas all other imported articles are used only by small portions of the community. Even rice, which is

largely eaten by the inhabitants of the cities, reaches the poor fellah's mouth only as an article of luxury on special occasions. The misery of these poor wretches is said to be nearly indescribable; they work all day for the merest pittance, and quiet their hunger with a few hard cakes baked on stones.

The export trade, on the contrary, is nearly all in the hands of native merchants, who, as land owners and leasers, and money lenders, have the poor fellahs so tightly in their hands that they get but little from their unwilling labors. The fellah seldom owns any land, or if he does he has not often the money wherewith to obtain cattle and seed. He either borrows money, or the cattle and seed are provided for him by the dealer, who in turn demands so much of the crop that the fellah gets scarcely enough for his sternest wants. In this way he seldom succeeds in saving any thing, or, if he does, the Turkish tax-gatherers, to whom the customs are generally farmed out, strip him to his back.

Of the articles of export, olive oil, tilseed for the manufacture of croton oil, and the olive-oil soap are the principal. Olive oil is to-day the leading production of Palestine. The olive-tree is found every-where, and many new plantations are now being started. In the plains is the olive, as on most of the mountains around the villages; it is found on Carmel and around Bethlehem and Jerusalem. The monks of the cloisters are setting out new plantations. The Greek monastery in Jerusalem some time ago bought a waste piece of land for \$4,000, and covered it with young olive-trees, and now, in twenty years, they ask over \$100,000 for it. This fact shows the capacity of the country if cultivated with energy and thrift.

Palestine is pre-eminently the land of the grape, in certain sections; but as the Moslem drinks no wine, he does not know how to make it, and, therefore, this industry has brought him nothing. But the grape is a very important article of food in the summer months, and what they do not eat they dry for raisins, or use in the manufacture of an excellent grape honey. The ancient grape city of Hebron is still surrounded to great distances with vineyards, which make it one of the prettiest places in Palestine. It is natural that the Germans should utilize the grape for the production of wine, after the manner of their home-life, and they are doing this in the neighborhood of Jaffa,

and especially at their settlement in the plains of Sharon, not far from Jaffa. They raised enough last season for their own use, but some of them are now beginning to acknowledge that in this Oriental land a pint of milk is of more value than a pint of wine—which is a great concession for a German to make—and they are seriously discussing the question whether they will not gain more from their cows than from their wine-presses. It is doubtful whether they will ever make a good wine for export, although they are trying to do so.

One drawback to their success is an occasional bad harvest in certain regions. This has just been the case around the Bay of Acre, by which the colony at Haifa has severely suffered. On the contrary, the colony at Sharon had a very good year for wheat and barley. The Germans are teaching the natives the value of manuring the land, which they entirely neglect. Land from which the Arabian peasants had ceased to get any thing is now bearing such fine crops as to be the admiration of the surrounding country. Last year the olive crop was a partial failure. This was a calamity, for olives are one of the principal articles of food of the fellahs. They are soaked in salt water and eaten with bread. Another curse of Palestine is the cattle pest. Owing to the carelessness of the government in regard to repressive measures, the disease rages over all the land, so that at certain periods there are no cattle for the agricultural work or for slaughter; mutton is, therefore, the principal article of animal food; but fowls are plenty, and the forests furnish the wild boar. The Germans are meeting these troubles like intelligent agriculturists, and are making vigorous efforts to counteract the difficulties which they meet; and their success in proving that this Promised Land may again become one of milk and honey with intelligent care and treatment, is calling the attention of local authorities to their labors. The English ambassador, Layard, on his recent visit to Palestine, honored them with a call, inspected their labors and their settlements, broke bread with them, and wished them great success. Some of the most intelligent American teachers and missionaries that have visited them—men, for instance, like Drs. Vandyke and Long—have said very kind and encouraging words to them, and bid them go on in spite of the many discouragements. In short, we think it

fair to say that it is the general impression of those who study the case, that if Palestine is ever to be regenerated these are the men to do it.

In the theoretical study of Palestine and its scientific exploration the German *savants* have been active for many years. It was our rare opportunity years ago to hear that distinguished German professor at the University of Berlin, Carl Ritter, discourse on the Physical Geography of Palestine, after a scientific visit thither. He filled his hearers with a measure of his own enthusiasm, which has borne fruits, and since then the German mind has been closely engaged with the subject of Palestinian exploration, in its scientific aspects. Tobler has gained the reputation of being among the most learned of the Palestine explorers, and other noble names are arranged by his side, which, however, are but little known outside of Germany. The reason of this may be partially found in the fact that nearly all these men were poor, and most of them did what they did with their own scanty means, which were often too limited to secure a worthy publication of the results of their labors. Thus in the practical exploration of Palestine the Germans were not abreast of other nations, and their scientists have been obliged to stand in the background as mute observers of the work, or to be satisfied to point to harvests for others to garner. But they have watched the expeditions of the French, English, and Americans with careful eyes, and are well aware of the labors of Robinson, Van de Velde, Lynch, Sauley, and a host of others. They have looked with admiration at the exploration funds that have been raised in other nations, and have enjoyed, without jealousy, their valuable results in the various works lately published on the exploration of Palestine.

In view of these results there has arisen in Germany a desire to unite all their forces for the exploration of Palestine. Their own national regeneration and the high respect that the German consulates now enjoy in Oriental lands give them much reason to hope that the time has arrived when they, too, can join the bands that are intent on investigating and restoring the land. About three years ago some German professors in Basle and Tübingen conceived the idea of establishing also a society for the exploration of Palestine. They constituted themselves as an executive committee provisionally,

and succeeded in obtaining a score or so of others who were willing to join them ; among these latter, some persons of high position in the government, such as the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and the famous soldier Von Moltke. They met at Wiesbaden, and formed an association, with a business committee, consisting of Kersten of Berlin and Guthe of Leipsic. This committee are now publishing, in Leipsic, a periodical devoted to the interests of Palestine, which is sent to the two hundred and fifty members of the association, who pay yearly only the small sum of two dollars and fifty cents as membership fees, which includes also the price of the periodical. The object of the association is the publication of all new and interesting knowledge gained in the matter of exploration, and the founding of a fund for self-labór of their own members. The Emperor of Germany and the Crown Prince, as well as the King of Würtemberg, are among the patrons, and the Emperor of Austria has also subscribed liberally to the funds of the society. Among the scholars who take a special interest in it are such men as Delitzsch and Ebers, in Leipsic, and Kiepert, in Berlin. All the German consuls in the Holy Land are also members.

The first volume of the proceedings has been issued, consisting of four numbers, and it is very rich with the contributions of its members. Nearly every field of labor in the exploration is well represented by text and engravings. We need scarcely say that the maps are very fine, as Kiepert has had them in charge. One of the members of the society lives in Jerusalem, and he is regarded as the most critical judge of all its topographical relations. He is the architectural member of the Turkish authorities there, and in all investigations that are made he has the best opportunity for information. The Germans hope for great success through this undertaking, and are desirous of extending its patronage beyond the limits of their country. They have thus fairly entered the arena of learned rivalry as well as that of practical regeneration. We are confident that their efforts in both spheres will be attended with success. The very foundation of these industrial and agricultural colonies on their part gives them a point of support that is very desirable in the work of regenerating this impoverished and desolate land, though in itself so rich and promising. And he who looks with reverence and love to the

land where our Saviour mingled with men and imparted to them his divine teachings, must gather new hope for its restoration to civilization and humanity, knowing the sturdy efforts that are now being made by men of pious enthusiasm and Christian zeal to introduce a better state of things. They are teaching by example as well as precept, and they have come to conquer or perish in the attempt. They are of the stuff of which martyrs are made, and if any can succeed in this much-needed work, they are these men.

ART. IV.—ECUMENICAL METHODISM.

METHODISM, in an organic condition, is in America—in the United States, in Canada, and in Mexico; in Europe—in the British Isles and on the Continent; in Africa; in Asia—in the great empires of India, China, and Japan; and in Australasia, where it has a General Conference with four Annual Conferences. Methodism has more than one hundred thousand itinerant and local ministers, nearly five millions of lay members, and a community filling its congregations and subject to its influence of not less than twenty, and possibly reaching twenty-five, millions. Methodism speaks almost every language, has its adherents of every complexion, gathers its trophies in all lands, and unfurls its conquering banner beneath every sky. It publishes books, newspapers, and tracts, by the million, in the different tongues spoken or read by its myriad converts. It is found, with its peculiar institutions and distinctive usages, on every continent and in almost every quarter of the globe.

In all its history Methodism has been a doctrinal unity. It has had no divisions or secessions because of dogmas. The avowed object of all its branches has been the maintenance of the spiritual life, the spread of scriptural holiness, and the conversion of sinners. Whoever has known Methodism in any of its forms would at once recognize it in whatever form it exists. It is English, American, African, Asiatic, Australasian; Episcopal and non-Episcopal, cultured and uncultured; finding its adherents in the highest and in the lowest classes of society; worshipping in splendid churches, in the rudest structures, and

in the open fields; but always and every-where it has the same distinctive features.

It is remarkable that Methodism, despite its doctrinal unity, oneness of purpose, substantial harmony of usages and common spiritual life, should, nevertheless, be broken into more than a score of independent fragments. It is not our purpose to trace the history of these various organizations. Some of them have resulted from political convulsions, some have come in the order of national growth and independency, and some from an avowed purpose to maintain primitive Methodism in its purity and power. Not one of them has been a departure, in purpose or fact, from the essential doctrines and usages of Methodism. It is, doubtless, true that some of these bodies have no sufficient reason for a separate existence, and that a waste of means and energies has resulted, in some instances, from the presence, in the same locality, of different and rival Methodist organizations.

The special need of Methodism, however, is not, in our judgment, an organic union, or the reduction of these fragmentary bodies into two or three, or a half dozen, or even a half score, great continental communions. What is required, as a condition of the largest Methodistic success, is not consolidation, but confederation. We need a holy league and covenant, in spirit if not in letter, binding all the branches of the one Methodist family together, to do the work and fulfill the mission assigned us by the great Head of the Church. We need to feel more deeply that we are one people, and "a band of brothers everywhere." We need some practical system of co-operation, especially in our mission fields. We need the strength and encouragement which come from the assurance that every part of the grand movement is in harmony with every other part, and that all are working together from a common impulse, and to secure a common triumph. We need to give such visible expression to our invisible unity, "that the world may believe" that we have a common spiritual life, and that we are one with Christ as he is one with the Father.

It was, doubtless, because of convictions such as these that the General Conference of 1876 resolved in favor of an Ecumenical Conference of Methodism; declared its judgment that such a Conference would tend in many ways to a closer alliance,

a warmer fraternity, and a fuller co-operation among the various Methodist organizations for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom in all parts of the earth; ordered the appointment of a committee to take the whole subject into consideration, to correspond with different Methodist bodies, and to endeavor to arrange for such Ecumenical Conference; and empowered said committee to speak on this subject, for and in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The committee, selected by the Bishops, and constituted as the General Conference had directed, of two Bishops, four other ministers, and three laymen, was as follows:

Bishops.—Rev. Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.; and Rev. Edward R. Ames, D.D., LL.D., of Baltimore, Md.

Other ministers.—Rev. Augustus C. George, D.D., of Central New York Conference; Rev. Lorenzo D. Barrows, D.D., of New Hampshire Conference; Rev. Park S. Donelson, D.D., of Central Ohio Conference; and Rev. Isaac N. Baird, D.D., of Pittsburgh Conference.

Laymen.—Hon. J. W. Marshall, of Washington, District of Columbia; Hon. James Harlan, of Mount Pleasant, Iowa; and Francis H. Root, Esq., of Buffalo, New York.

Rev. Bishop Edward R. Ames, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. Lorenzo D. Barrows, D.D., having deceased, the Board of Bishops appointed in their places Rev. Bishop Jesse T. Peck, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. James Pike, D.D.

It appears, from the report of this Committee, submitted to the recent General Conference, that the proposed Ecumenical Council has received the approval of the Methodist Protestant Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the American Wesleyan Church, the Evangelical Association, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church—all of the United States; the Methodist Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, and the British Wesleyan Conference of England. In November, 1879, the Committee published a card in all the papers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and requested its publication in all the Methodist journals of the world, reciting in brief the above-named facts, and concluding as follows:

It seems now to be necessary that there should be a joint meeting of these committees, or of their chairmen, or of some one or

more persons authorized to act in their stead, to prepare a call for such Ecumenical Conference, determining the time and place of meeting, suggesting a basis of representation, and providing for essential preliminary details. We would, therefore, respectfully propose that such joint meeting be held in the city of Cincinnati, May 6, 1880; and we express our earnest desire that it may be attended, not only by the representatives of the several Methodist bodies which have taken action in favor of an Ecumenical Conference, but also, as far as practicable, by authorized representatives of all other Methodist organizations in every part of the world. We would, furthermore, call on all Christians, and especially on all Methodists, to offer, continually, fervent prayers to Almighty God, that he may be pleased to further this godly design with his blessing, so that it may redound to his glory, and may result in a large increase of the spirituality, unity, and prosperity of his Church, and the more speedy conversion of the world to our Lord Jesus Christ.

In accordance with this summons, delegates assembled in St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, representing the British Wesleyan Conference, the Irish Methodist Conference, the Methodist Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Free Methodist Church, the American Wesleyan Church, and the Independent Methodist Church. Rev. William Arthur, A.M., of England, presided over this holy convocation, and diffused through it much of his sweet, Christian spirit. The convention was fraternal, devout, earnest, harmonious, and unanimous in its conclusions. The final result reached, after a number of meetings, the freest and fullest consultation, and frequent seasons of fervent and united prayer in which the Holy Spirit was manifestly present, was expressed in a "call" for a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, to be composed of four hundred members, and to meet in City Road Chapel, London, if found practicable, in August, 1881. This "call," which provides all the necessary machinery for carrying out its great purpose, was signed by every person composing the Conference, or joint committee meeting. It has attached to it the names of William Arthur and F. W. Maedonald, of England; of Wallace M'Mullen, of Ireland; of Bishops Simpson and Peck, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; of Bishops Doggett and M'Tyeire, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and of others, both clerical and lay, scarcely

less distinguished and honored. This "call" for a Methodist Ecumenical Council concludes as follows :

In conclusion, we desire to express our devout thanksgiving to the God and Father of all our mercies for the favor which he has been pleased thus far to show to this truly catholic movement, and especially for the spirit of forbearance, charity, and brotherly love which has prevailed in all our councils. We fervently pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon our work and upon his people, and eminently upon every branch of the great Methodist family ; and that this proposed Methodist Ecumenical Conference may be brought to a glorious consummation, and may be made fruitful of blessings to all mankind.

That there has been, in the last quadrennium, a great growth in the Church of the Ecumenical idea, is evident from a number of facts. In the General Conference of 1876 the proposition for a Methodist Ecumenical Council was referred to the "Committee on the State of the Church," where it was received with doubt, questionings, and suspicion. When amended "as to its title and phraseology," the word "Council" being struck out and the word "Conference" inserted, and reported favorably by the Committee, "with the recommendation that it be adopted," its provisions met with earnest opposition on the floor of the Conference ; and it only prevailed, through the strenuous exertions of its original mover, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-seven to seventy-four. Some of the ablest men in the Church, who were recognized leaders in the Conference, were included in the negative vote.

There was quite a different state of things in the General Conference of 1880. The work of the Committee having this matter in hand, and the discussions of the Press, had not been wholly unfruitful. The hearty, favorable responses of other Methodist bodies had produced their natural results. Fraternity was in the air, and "syllables and soundings" came from every quarter in the direction of a Methodist Council. Every body seemed to discern that "Ecumenical" was not now the symbol of Roman power or of Papal pretension. The word *οικουμενική* *ecumenical*, the whole human race, the habitable world, is, indeed, a word having the sanction of frequent New Testament use. To preach the gospel of the kingdom, *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*, *in the whole habitable world*, (Matt. xxiv, 14,) to spread scriptural holiness throughout all lands, to carry the glad tidings to

every house and to every soul, is the precise genius and mission of Methodism. "The world is my parish," said Mr. Wesley, and Ecumenical Methodism is a recognition of the accepted truth. The one grand, world-wide revival movement which, like the ocean, has sent its waves to all shores, must of necessity have a tidal re flow toward some common center.

The Bishops, in their quadrennial Address, referred to the steps taken to secure a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, and added: "The measure thus inaugurated, it is hoped, will be consummated, and will add to the strength, influence, and unity of the Methodist family of Churches." The Address of the British Wesleyan Conference, signed, on behalf and by order of that body, by Benjamin M. Gregory, President, and Marmaduke Clark Osborne, Secretary, closed with these memorable words:

The proposals which we have received from your Committee that an Ecumenical Conference of the various Methodist bodies in Great Britain, the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and other countries, be held for the purpose of considering the position and work of the people called Methodists, have been favorably reported upon by the Committee appointed to consider them, and communications are now proceeding which will, we trust, issue in the realization of this important project. Much wisdom will be needed to mature and guide so great an undertaking.

In conclusion, dear brethren, we renew to you the sincerest assurances of our Christian esteem and affection. We rejoice in every indication of growing unity in the universal Church of Christ, but with the most abundant welcome do we hail any movement that tends to bring closer together the kindred Churches that had their origin in the large-hearted charity and world-embracing zeal of John Wesley. The substantial unity of Methodism the world over is a providential fact of the profoundest significance.

We would cherish whatever promotes the recognized oneness of all the Methodist Churches; not in visible organic union—that need not be—but in fraternal alliance and the bonds of common service and sympathy. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you from God our Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord!

In the fraternal message of the Irish Methodist Church, this paragraph occurs:

We heard with great satisfaction of the suggestions for the holding of an Ecumenical Methodist Conference, which you have submitted to the consideration of the British Conference. We have no doubt that the holding of such a Conference, under suit-

able conditions, would "tend in many ways to a closer alliance," a warmer fraternity, and a fuller co-operation among the various branches of the great Methodist family. We hope to hear, in due time, that any practical difficulties which may seem to lie in the way of carrying out your proposals have been overcome, and that the Conference will be held. We shall be glad to co-operate in any way in our power.

Rev. William Arthur, A.M., the fraternal delegate of the British Wesleyan Conference, in his stirring and eloquent address, said:

Allusion has been made to the proposal that has emanated from you for an ecumenical gathering of Methodists from all the world. We should like that gathering to take place where the Methodist Society originated. We should like it to take place at City Road, where John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and Joseph Benson preached, where the first Conferences were held, and where the cradle of Methodism will always be spoken of, and that with interest more profound as time advances. I speak now not merely of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but for a moment I think of all the other branches scattered throughout the world. Whatever name they may have adopted for themselves, they had the Methodist origin; and I like the name; and we should link them all together, and see if by the blessing of God we cannot, in such a meeting, so take counsel one with another, that we shall, every man, go away, one to India, one to Italy, and one to the Caffirs of the Cape, one to the negroes of Monrovia, and another to Hudson's Bay, and to California, and Japan, and China, to Rome, and so on right around the world, telling our people everywhere we may go that, being many, we are one! I trust that one we shall remain, and become more and more conscious of our oneness.

Rev. A. G. Haygood, D.D., fraternal messenger from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in his address to the General Conference, dwelt largely on this subject, and among other things, said:

Before closing this address I may add that our people have looked forward to this General Conference with deep interest, not only because it is in itself a most important and influential assemblage of Christian men, met to consider of affairs vital to the Church, but chiefly because, here and now, the first practical steps are to be taken for bringing about an Ecumenical Conference of universal Methodism.

It is a grand conception, Mr. President, that honors the heart and mind that first suggested it. It will honor, also, the hearts and minds of those who, under God, may so guide the development of this great idea as to realize the large possibilities that this scheme involves.

Let this greater Conference be held. Let representatives—the wisest and holiest of them all—be present from every Methodist family in the world. And this Conference, my brethren, will be held. So great a thought as this, of a Pan-Methodist Conference, that may confer, in brotherly love and confidence, in the spirit of mutual helpfulness, concerning all the interests of Methodism, and that, so conferring, must help forward all these interests—a thought so great as this, with so much wisdom and faith and Christian love in it, was not born to die.

Such a Conference might, as it seems to me, bring to each one of our Methodisms the momentum of the whole body; might impart to each the larger views and higher inspiration of the whole confederation, but would, at the same time, preserve intact the autonomy of each, thus leaving each one of the Methodist household to fulfill, without hinderance, its providential mission to the world.

We trust that this General Conference will devise and accomplish many wise and excellent things for the Church, that it will be long remembered for the blessings that followed it; but will not its relations to Ecumenical Methodism give it its chief historic glory and importance? I cannot doubt that in every country where Methodism has a foothold, there are ascending prayers for the divine blessing upon the deliberations to be had in this city, preliminary to the assembling of a Pan-Methodist Conference that will consider of the affairs of universal Methodism, and of the greater affairs of our common Christianity.

When that Conference meets, when the English Methodisms, Irish Methodism, the Methodisms of the Canadas, of Australasia, India, China, Europe, and the many Methodisms of our great Union—Episcopal and non-Episcopal, Caucasian and African—when all these brothers meet together to advise, to bless, and to help each other, then will the ascended fathers say, with deeper emphasis and larger meaning than the words ever bore before, "What hath God wrought!" . . . Pardon me, Mr. President and brethren, for alluding once more to the mission work of our Churches. If any thing worthy is to come out of our fraternity and our Ecumenical Conferences, surely one result will be a vast increase of our faith and zeal and enterprise in the work of converting the many millions of the heathen world. Vain is our boast of more than four millions of Methodists, if, when we are drawn together in the bonds of Christian brotherhood, we do not realize the greatness both of our opportunity and responsibility.

Rev. Edward B. Ryckman, D.D., fraternal delegate from the Methodist Church of Canada, said:

This Ecumenical Conference is the noblest attempt ever yet made to give visible expression of our Methodist unity, and it will arrest the attention, attract the sympathy, and call forth the prayers, of thousands upon thousands of Methodists who, although

separated by wide distances, some of them by intervening oceans, are yet one in doctrine, one in spirit, one in the love of a common work. May our geographical separation be the most serious that shall ever divide us! The result of such a Conference must be good. Whether the subjects of discussion be general, such as the right way of maintaining the sanctity of the Sabbath, or disseminating a healthful Christian literature, or promoting revivals of religion, or training the young to an early consecration to God and his service in every department of Christian work, or, if the subjects should be more particular, a mutual agreement as to the partition of the mission field so as to take possession of the world for Christ in the most systematic and expeditious manner possible, the possibility of a Pan-Methodist hymn book, the practicability of a confederation of all the Methodist bodies under the shining sun of heaven on a well-understood fraternal basis, we shall have the prayers of all good men and the blessings of the Head of the Church.

The elaborate report of the Ecumenical Conference Committee was ordered printed in the "DAILY Christian Advocate," and also in the Journal of the General Conference. The report of the Joint Committee, summoning an Ecumenical Council, was accorded a similar honor. The General Conference also adopted resolutions, providing for the appointment of two members of the Executive Committee, to perfect arrangements for the Council, and authorizing the Bishops of the Church to select the delegates to the Ecumenical Conference. Nothing more is needed in the way of legislation, or necessary pre-arrangement, to bring this grand undertaking to a happy consummation.

Not the least notable of the public services held during the session of the General Conference were those arranged and carried out by the Ecumenical Committee. In accordance with the request of the Committee, Rev. William Arthur preached in St. Paul's Church, May 9, from the words, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all," discussing Christian unity as resting on two things; first, a common nature, and, secondly, a common origin. Said Mr. Arthur:

Let all Methodists love one another and promote harmony, which will, in time, bring unity. The world has need of our light. Let the Bishops of the South strive with the Bishops of the North, and the laymen of each section strive with each other, striving *together*, and not against each other. God send us the day of unity! God grant us this day an antepast of this union,

and of the time when all the world shall be compelled to say that Christians love one another !

The Monday night following there was a meeting of great interest, devoted to prayer, brief addresses, and sacred songs. Bishop Simpson presided, assisted by Rev. William Arthur, Bishop D. S. Doggett, Rev. Wallace M'Mullen, and Rev. Dr. E. B. Ryckman. Remarks were made by Rev. E. H. Dewart, of the Methodist Church of Canada ; Rev. F. W. Macdonald, of the British Wesleyan Conference ; Rev. W. Nast, D.D., "the father of German Methodism ;" Rev. B. Lane, A.M., of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada ; Rev. J. G. Mitchell, D.D., of the African Methodist Episcopal Church ; J. H. Carlisle, LL.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South ; Hon. Charles J. Baker, of the Independent Methodist Church ; Rev. N. Wardner, of the American Wesleyan Church ; Babu Ram Chandra Bose, lay delegate from North India to the General Conference ; and by Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin, Bishop Doggett, and Rev. William Arthur. We quote one paragraph from Mr. Arthur, which is decidedly ecumenical in its strain. He said :

I thank God for what I have seen to-night ; I thank God that we have had here different colors and accents and nationalities. I thank God for the German accent ; I thank God for the black complexion ; I thank God for the Hindu complexion. Methodism was born with the word upon its lips, "The world is my parish." That was its birth-cry. There is a vast deal of its parish into which it has never set foot. We sometimes say that Methodism is to be found in all the world. Aye, aye, found in all the world the same as gas lamps are to be found in all America. They are here and there, but there is many an acre, many a mountain, and many a valley, where there is no gas lamp. We have only begun ; but, thank God, we are a band of brothers every-where. We may be Anglo-Saxons, Hindus, Negroes, Caffirs, Malays and New Zealanders, and yet we are a common brotherhood.

This meeting, attended by the representative men of so many different Methodist bodies, will, doubtless, be productive of wide-spread and glorious results.

Such a movement as this proposed Methodist Ecumenical Conference will have to be guarded against many perils. It may degenerate into a mutual admiration society. It may waste itself in gush and glorification of Methodism. It may

fall into the hands of ambitious men, seeking chiefly for distinction. It may prove to be more social than devout. Methodists need to remember that in holding this Council they are placing themselves and their Church in the focus of the world's observation. Methodism will be on exhibition, and will be studied, scanned, and criticised as never before in its history. There is no place in such a Council for platitudes, and no demand for oratory. There is some practical, earnest work to be done which will benefit the Church and hasten the glad hour of the world's redemption. This object, this chiefly, this only, now demands the brain and heart of Methodism. Mr. Gladstone, in his short speech after his great Mid-Lothian victory, said :

What we have now to show, gentlemen, is that we can use the strength which we have shown ourselves to possess, and that we can turn the victory we may be said to have obtained both here and elsewhere to good account for the common and universal benefit of our country.

So, in this Ecumenical Council, Methodism, now conceded to have strength and ability to achieve noted triumphs, must demonstrate to the world that she can use her resources wisely, that she can turn her victories to good account, and that she has learned how to employ her wealth, culture, influence, piety, organic life, and practical expedients, for the benefit of mankind. Great responsibility rests on those who have the authority to appoint the delegates to this Conference, and even greater, perhaps, on the general Executive Committee, which must make a programme of exercises, indicate the topics to be considered, and select the men who are to present them to the Council.

Methodism is not only world-wide in extent, but many-sided in development and Christian work. To carry religion into all the affairs of life and to make every secular thing sacred, has been its fundamental purpose. Methodism, therefore, has vital relations to the home, to the school, to citizen-duties, to reforms, and to all missionary modes. Methodism has peculiar means of evangelization, such as camp-meetings, an itinerant ministry, and the employment of the lay element in the Church for the performance of certain ministerial and pastoral work. How far these may need to be modified or adjusted, so as to secure the greatest efficiency, are legitimate questions for an

Ecumenical Conference. How Methodist unity may be maintained, increased, and made manifest to the world, is an inquiry of great importance. It is possible that a common psalmody, a common liturgy and order of worship, co-operation in missionary work, the perpetuation of a general executive committee, a pastoral address to the Methodism of the world, and Ecumenical Conferences at stated periods, are among the things contributing to that end which may be realized. The safety of small craft in a turbulent sea will not, perhaps, be increased by having them lashed together; but they ought to be within hailing distance of each other, and to have a well-understood system of signs and signals, to which each and all will be ready to respond. Methodism cannot afford to have her smallest ship sink, while there are abundant resources in the whole squadron to bring every galley which floats her flag at its mast-head safely into the harbor. We heartily concur in the conclusion, reached by the Committee of Correspondence, that a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, while not imperiling the autonomy of any society, "would produce a salutary visible unity; would bring the stimulation and strength of a great growing body to each of the several parts; would secure a wiser and less wasteful expenditure of the resources and energies of the Church; would make the practical experience of each body the property of all; would demonstrate the adaptation of Methodism to every demand of Christ's cause in every part of the earth; would combine the strength and influence of all Wesleyan organizations against the giant sins and wrongs of the age; and would impart new impulses of spiritual life to Christendom and the world."

This ultimate Protestant unity—the practical co-operation of all who are in Jesus Christ by faith—must be kept constantly in view as the great object to be realized. This is the convincing argument for the Messiahship of Jesus. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." To show that love to the world is the business of Christendom. When it does this, thoroughly and effectually, the world will speedily be saved. "Great as the Presbyterian Church may be," said Professor Patton, in his sermon before the General Assembly, "in that for which she is distinguished, she is greater still in that which she shares in common with the Christian

world." So also of Methodism. Great as this movement is, in its peculiar usages and distinctive features, and worthy as it is when thus considered of the world's study, it is greater still as the conservation of the common orthodoxy of Christendom, as a revival of that spiritual life which is possessed, to a greater or less degree, by all bodies of Christians, and as an aggressive agency against that Antichrist, in whatever form revealed, which is the deadly antagonist of the whole Church of God.

We shall only discover the true and wide significance of such convocations as the Pan-Anglican Convention, in Lambeth; the Pan-Presbyterian Convention, in Edinburgh and in Philadelphia; and the Methodist Ecumenical Conference, in City Road Chapel, London; when we see that the ultimate consummation must be a confederation of Churches, a practical union of the several tribes of our Israel in one godly commonwealth, a spiritual and powerful republic, which shall demonstrate to the world that the invisible and divine oneness of all who are in Christ, of whatever denominational name, is more real, effective, and available for the maintenance and extension of the truth of God and the victory of the cross in all lands, than any enforced uniformity in doctrine or discipline, or any array of ecclesiastical machinery with a pretended infallible head. When Anglican Episcopal Convention, Presbyterian Pan-Council, Methodist Ecumenical Conference, world-wide Baptist Association, and other bodies of similar import, can speak in the name and with the authority of the great Churches which they represent, there will soon come to be, not only a growing feeling of fraternity, but also more practical exhibitions of the common brotherhood of worship, work, and warfare for the common object of the world's evangelization. In a word, our children will see, if we do not, a *Parliament of Protestantism*, aiming not at uniformity, but rejoicing in spiritual unity, helping the coming, and heralding the advent of the millennial glory.

It is a mistake to suppose that this Protestant unity will be at the expense or sacrifice of denominational integrity. The several bodies of Christians will still exult in all that is grand and heroic in their history, will still cling to their respective confessions of faith, and will still maintain their own peculiar forms and usages; but every one will admit every other one's

right to be, and every one will discover that no single Church organization has all the excellencies, or has found out all the best appliances, for doing the Lord's work. The same spirit will prevail which characterized that memorable Church Council of which we have an account in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that only council which had the right to say, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," and uniformity will not be exacted, and no unnecessary burdens will be imposed; but liberty will be guaranteed, and diligence in doing the work of the Lord will be enjoined. "The multitude of them" will not be of one name or of one belief, but they will be "of one heart and of one soul;" and the more persistently they speak the same thing, the less will there be of divisions, *σχίσματα*, among them, and the more closely and lovingly and perfectly will they be "joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." 1 Cor. i, 10. All that is needed to this glorious consummation is the catholicity of Archdeacon Hare, when he asserts, "If the body holds to the one Head, and is connected by the one faith, and is sanctified by the one baptism, it is a Church before God;" the self-sacrificing love of Calvin, expressed in the words, "I should not hesitate to cross ten seas, if by this means holy communion might prevail among the members of Christ;" and the brotherly spirit and wise, statesmanly evangelism of Wesley, revealed in his declaration, "I desire to have a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Christ." An organic union, even of Churches of the same faith and order, is not the objective point of our endeavors; but that we may all discern the things in which we agree, the precious treasures which we hold in common, the one grand indivisible work which we have to accomplish, and the completeness which we realize and manifest more and more as we grow up into Christ, our living Head. With this discernment will come a Pentecostal baptism, an increased strength and fervor of religious experience, a more aggressive movement against the powers of darkness, greater spiritual successes in all lands, and a speedier inauguration of the new earth and heaven.

ART. V.—THE GREECE OF TO-DAY.

New Greece. By LEWIS SARGEANT.

Finley's Greek Revolution.

The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem. By HON. WM. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

AMONG the nations of antiquity Greece, though not the largest of the galaxy, is the brightest and most attractive. It has been her peculiarity and boast to be a microcosm of letters and art, of refinement and eloquence. Though often eclipsed and clouded like the sun, her nationality has never been destroyed. She has buffeted with hostile peoples, overcoming and being overcome, from the earliest times, but in the midst of saddest vicissitudes her spirit and genius have survived and reappeared. To-day, after three hundred years of barbaric Turkish rule, she lifts her proud head among the powers of Europe, like the little horn in Daniel's vision, and forces recognition as a factor in the Eastern Question that cannot be eliminated or waved aside. Though denied a representation in the person of a Greek ambassador by the great powers at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, she yet compelled a concession and recommendation from that imperial body that her domain shall be enlarged to an extent corresponding nearly with her ancient territorial limits.

No intelligent tourist considers his European or Oriental trip complete until he has seen Greece, and especially Athens, its capital. Nor is this country a point of attraction to the idle and curious merely, who travel for personal gratification or in search of health. Thinkers, historians, statesmen, and Christians are looking at Greece at the present moment with absorbing interest and exhilarating hope. Mr. Gladstone, by some thought to be the greatest living statesman, has recently written an important article on Greece for the "Contemporary Review," taking the ground, as Daniel Webster did before him, that natural right and political justice require that her national independence should be conceded and guaranteed. The leading writers of England are in deep sympathy with the Hellenic cause. There is scarcely a number of the many stately "Reviews" of that country that does not contain an exhaustive discussion of some aspect of the Greek problem. And in all the diplomatic consultations it obtrudes itself. It is the "irrepressible conflict."

Modern Greece has magnified itself into so great importance that historians have begun to make it a subject of distinct history. Greece was taken and subjugated by the Turks under the lead of Omar in 1455. It continued an integral part of the Ottoman Empire until the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, when she rose in heroic desperation and threw off the despotic yoke, and became again free by the aid of Great Britain. Finley gives a full account of this struggle in his work entitled "Finley's History of the Greek Revolution." More recently another book has appeared, under the title "New Greece."

This author deals especially with resuscitated Greece. It is a picture of the late progress, the present prosperous condition and future prospects, of the Hellenic people. Thus Greece, like a magnet, is drawing to herself the thought and press of Europe. We may judge of the character of a nation by the literature which it inspires and of which it makes itself the subject. Nobody writes a history of Spain or Turkey now, unless it be a recital of horrors or misrule, to show why neither should exist longer.

No full-orbed picture can be given of Greece except from personal observation. We approached it from the north and west on a vessel of the Peninsular and Oriental Line of English steamers that ply between Venice and Egypt. Starting from Venice, we steamed down the Adriatic into the Mediterranean direct for Alexandria. Taking this course, our track lay in a curve around an important part of Greece, and necessitated our skirting the coast for a day and a half. Late in the evening of our third day out, gray barren hills capped with snow made their appearance to the left. It was the island of Corfu, where the English made their governmental head-quarters from 1815 to 1864, when, under the administration of Mr. Gladstone, England surrendered this, with six other islands, to Greece.

Sailing onward, another island comes in sight, of similar configuration and general aspect. It is Cephalonia. And still another. It is Zante. And what are all these craggy peaks in the ocean, denuded of vegetation and tipped with snow? They are three of the seven famous Ionian islands, which gave one of the three dialects to the classic Greek tongue, and contributed much in the days of their greatest importance and prosperity to the glory of Athens and of ancient Greece, and by competition

so excited the jealousy of Corinth as to become one of the causes of the Peloponnesian war. The next morning we found ourselves gliding in full view of a long range of mountains still wearing the turban of snow on their brow, diversified by ravines and small towns hanging on the hill-sides, or nestling down in the valleys, or hugging the sea, so nearly on a level with the water as to be scarcely visible. This is the mainland of Greece, now called the Morea, anciently styled the Peloponnesus. It is a peninsula connected with the continent by an isthmus six miles wide, on which the ancient city of Corinth was located, and where, three miles distant, on the coast of the Gulf of Corinth, is found the miserable town of New Corinth, where we spent the Sabbath in coming from Kalamaki.

Since the earthquake of 1858 nothing remains of the voluptuous city of ancient Corinth, except two dilapidated and broken columns. The imposing mountain peak called Acro-Corinthus, a part of the original site of the city, and which overlooked the center of the city proper, still stands, in spite of wars and earthquakes. On the rear-side it slopes to the sea-level, and is ascended by a winding carriage-way. This grand and virgin summit of nature is cursed with the historic memory that it was the seat of legalized licentiousness, and the spot where a thousand corrupted women were supported by the Government. It stands in frowning silence, and looks down upon the devastation below, seeming to say, "The wages of sin is death."

This our first view of Greece at the point of junction between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean was unfavorable. It impressed us as broken, rocky, barren, without trees or vegetation of any kind, and yet we were told the soil was productive under the hand of cultivation. From this we saw no more of Greece until we reached the classic isles from Smyrna on the east.

We weighed anchor from Smyrna at five o'clock in the evening, and the next day at one P.M. we touched at Syra. Syra is the chief sea-port town of Greece. At this point all the large ships stop, which run in the trade of Constantinople and the ports of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. They do not go up the Saronic bay to Athens, but take on and discharge their Grecian freight at this place. The town of Syra is built on a steep hill-side stretching up from the water's edge to a dizzy height. A large proportion of the houses are new and white,

which gives the place a gay and showy appearance, especially in the moonlight. This results from the fact that the atmosphere of Greece is not murky, like that of England and Germany, but clear and transparent, like that of Syria and Egypt. This imparts to the Grecian sky that high and spacious aspect and deep-blue tinge described by Byron :

"Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild,
Sweet are thy groves and verdant are thy fields,
Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
And still his honeyed wealth Hymethus yields;
There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
The free-born wanderer of the mountain air;
Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
Still in his beams Mendeli's marbles glare;
Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is fair."

All this we felt to be true as we stood on the summit of towering Lycabettus and looked across the plains of Attica.

After spending a day and night at Syra we transhipped and sailed direct for Athens. Ten hours brought us to Pireus, a thriving town at the head of the Saronic bay. Athens is inland six miles from this place, and reached by turnpike or railway. We chose a carriage, and, riding rapidly over a broad, smooth road, found ourselves on classic ground, domiciled in the good "*Hotel de Strangers*," and surrounded by a brilliant coterie representing many nations, who had come like ourselves to visit this city of greatest renown in the kingdom of letters and art. We had come to see the seat and monumental ruins of a nation that had achieved greater success in thought, literature, architecture, and prowess, than any other people on the globe outside Bible lands.

But we can give only the briefest synopsis of her old enchanting annals. Authentic history of Greece dates back to the first Olympiad, 776 years before Christ. All accounts previous fade into myth and legend. Indeed, for two hundred years after that period much of Grecian history is founded in conjecture and mixed with fable. Homer is supposed to have lived 800 years B.C. But this is not certain; a cloud of obscurity has ever hung over his nativity. Herodotus and Aristotle place his birth at two different periods, separated by the enormous gap of two hundred years, while some ruthless rummaging and iconoclastic German critics have denied his existence alto-

gether. It is only when we come down to the days of Solon, Darius, Xerxes, and other contemporaneous celebrities, that we find ourselves reading well-accredited history. If the authority of the Pentateuch were so in doubt we might well tremble.

The annals of Greece may be divided into four epochs. Her heroic age, her chivalrous period, her palmy days of philosophy and art, and her present state of revivification and promise. The heroic age is the misty antiquity of Grecian mythology—the time of fabled Hercules, the hero of Hellas, from which the Greeks take their true and ancient name, Hellenes. Then also existed the ideal Theseus, the hero of Attica, and Minos, the King of Crete, and the goddess Athene, the namesake of Athens. In commemoration of these legendary characters the temples were built whose ruins are the chief attraction of the city of Athens to this day.

Another remarkable era in Grecian history is the period of military exploits on sea and land, by which Greece covered herself with glory. These great achievements were three in number: 1. The defeat of the Persians on the plains of Marathon, under Miltiades. 2. The overthrow of the naval forces of the Persians at Salamis, under Themistocles. 3. The famous battle of Thermopylæ, where the brave Leonidas fought and fell with all his Spartan compatriots except one, and where they would have won a victory but for treachery in their ranks. In all ages human nature has maintained its identity. Two thousand years ago Greece had its Benedict Arnold in the perfidious person of Ephialtes, who, in hope of a great reward, went over to Xerxes and informed him how, by a circuitous route, he could flank Leonidas. But in spite of this betrayal Leonidas won a moral victory, for such was the valor of the Spartan band of three hundred against ten thousand chosen men that in their defeat and sublime death Greece was raised to the apex of military and national renown. Defeat is sometimes better than victory. It was so in this case; for the prowess thus acquired soon repulsed and warned off the Persians, and kept all barbaric invaders at bay for centuries. As a result, the arts and products of peace and civilization grew up and flourished beyond all precedent for those times. Not that wars are a blessing; intrinsically they are a curse, but in the degeneracy of nations they may be the less of two evils. The rupture of an abscess is bet-

ter than the occult diffusion of disease causing death. It is on this principle alone that our late war can be justified. It involved the nation's life and the weal of coming generations. The same is true of the Hellenic wars; they swept away the malaria of barbarism. At this period began the halcyon days of Greece under the lead and patronage of Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles. Pericles was the great patron of the fine arts. "He sought to make Athens the seat and center of every excellence. His idea was that the nation's capital should be at once a fortress of strength, a city of palaces, an abode of refinement, a school of philosophy, and a temple of the gods." Under the administration of such conceptions, letters and art sprang as by magic into being and celebrity. But it was the illustrious Phidias and his co-artists that placed the crown of surpassing beauty upon the brow of Athens. They constructed of white marble, on the lofty summit of the Acropolis, magnificent temples—the Propylæa, the Parthenon, and the Erechtheum. These are supposed to be the most exquisite specimens of architectural art that the genius of man has ever produced. They are sublime in their ruins.

In this period also appeared the great philosophers, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Zeno, and others whose works have been the basis of classic education and the sources of philosophic study down to the present time. And it was the rationalism of these writers that prepared the way and necessitated the transition from polytheism to monotheism; and this monotheistic innovation in turn by a similar necessity became the precursor of, and finally created the demand for, the introduction of Christianity. But the norm of human history is, that following every day there is a night—not of necessity in a moral sense, but as a fatality involved in a fallen condition unaided by counteracting grace. In this state we cannot bear prosperity, for with it come luxury and vice; and sin, being a reproach to any people, weakens character and subverts governments. The sun of Greece began to decline with the long civil strifes of the Peloponnesian war, 404 B.C., and ended with the extinction of her liberties, 338 B.C. And yet, such were her vitality and momentum, that, like a dying tree with living roots, she continued to flourish for many centuries. But being finally conquered by the Macedonians under Philip, in spite of the

heroic efforts of Demosthenes to rouse his countrymen to resistance, she remained under that rule with various vicissitudes until 86 B.C., when, under Sulla, the Roman yoke was imposed upon her. But still the artistic magnificence and literary character of Athens continued until after the middle of the first century, when Paul appeared and preached on Mars' Hill, complimenting their learning, and making it a basis of remonstrance against their superstitions and idolatries.

After this came the Goths and Ostrogoths and Turks, who swept the land with devastation, and introduced misrule, which lasted until 1827, the date at which modern Greece begins.

But we must recur to our personal observations. In coming to Athens from Pireus we enter the city on the south side, which is the business part, and looks more European than Oriental. Indeed, there is much taste and appearance of thrift in the stores and shops. As we reach the north side we come to a public square, in the center of which is a beautiful park, green with tropical plants, and smiling with flowers and ripe oranges, though in latitude thirty-eight degrees, and early in the month of March. On the south side of this square are large business houses; on the east and west the principal hotels; and on the north, crowning a gentle ascent, are the palace and grounds of the young King George. All these buildings are substantial and commodious, but not magnificent. To the right and left of the square, within the radius of one mile, are to be found the best private and public buildings, and all the chief objects of antiquarian interest. Athens nestles between two high bluffs, the Acropolis, five hundred feet above the level of the sea, and Lycabettus, still higher, and surrounded by the sunny plains of Attica, which may be made as productive and gardenesque as Scotland under the hand of cultivation and art.

OBJECTS OF INTEREST.

1. The Stadium, where Grecian games were practiced. This is a level arena a little way out of town, about one hundred feet in length and one hundred and fifty in breadth, lying in the shape of an ox-bow. It is encompassed on three sides by sloping ground, say fifty feet high, just steep enough to form the base of receding seats, bringing the spectators in full view of the arena.

The Stadium looks now like a natural recess into the hill-side ; but it is evident that it was originally put in shape by excavation, because in the curve of the ox-bow there is a subterranean passage which obviously served as a way of ingress and exit. But oh, the vicissitudes of time ! the Stadium is now a pasture-field and play-ground. Sheep crop the grass and bleat for their young, and children sport, where once the *élite* of Athens sat in chairs of Pentelic marble, and fifty thousand people were held entranced over contingent results as the contests went on. But oh, all is reduced to the silence of death and the decay of the grave. Three hundred years before Christ, and eighteen centuries of our Lord's era, have swept over their ashes, and consigned all their memories except a few to eternal oblivion, and their souls to immutable destiny.

2. A second object of interest is the Olympium, a sumptuous temple built on ground held sacred from the earliest times, and separated from the Stadium by the River Ilissus. Hadrian's arch, which formed the magnificent gate-way into the Olympium, and fifteen of the mighty columns, sixty-four feet in height and over seven feet in diameter, still stand ; two lie prone and broken on the ground, victims of the gnawing teeth of time. If Christian civilization is faithful to her interests these relics will be preserved, and, like the Pantheon, at Rome, tell the story of the transition of the people from heathenism to Christianity.

3. A third and principal object is the Acropolis. A perpendicular rock on three sides, facing the city and approached and mounted from the rear by a winding carriage-way of gradual and easy ascent. Its summit is crowned with the ruins of four or five temples, the chief of which is the Parthenon. Nothing but its foundation and pillars remain. These columns are not monoliths, but circular sections of stone placed one upon the other, and so closely jointed that the seams can scarcely be detected. I called the attention of Dr. Constantine to these joints. He said, "I will show you a seam that you cannot find at all." He pointed to a spot in the steps of the Parthenon. No junction was discernible ; nothing but a place where a piece had been broken out made it possible to discover the joint after the closest inspection.

Contiguous to the Acropolis, and separated from it by a road-

way, is Mars' Hill, where Paul preached to the court and scholars of Athens. Mars' Hill, like the Acropolis, is a precipitous rock, though not nearly so high. Three of its sides overlook the city; one slopes off to the ordinary level. The Areopagus is reached by a flight of steps cut in the solid rock, some of which are broken, others entirely gone. By these Paul and his hearers must have ascended. I stood on the rocky pulpit, and rehearsed the words of Paul. The surroundings inspire just such thoughts as Paul's discourse contains. In front, the city and the Olympium; at the right, the Parthenon; at the left, the temple of Theseus; in the rear, the rostrum of Demosthenes; Plato's Villa in the distance in one direction, the place where Socrates drank the hemlock in the other. In the midst of such associations, Paul, that intrepid man of God, who never was ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, sowed the seed which has proved itself ineradicable unto the present day.

The Parthenon is a double reminder. As a specimen of art, it tells of the highest civilization under heathenism. As a ruin, it reminds us of the utter incompatibility of culture with polytheism and idolatry. Here we have an instance. Culture and genius in the person of Phidias built the temple and gave it to Athens and the worship of the gods. But the same culture that developed the genius of Phidias and Praxiteles also brought out Xenophanes the philosopher, and other monotheistic teachers, who attacked the popular religion, and sapped it to its very foundations. Thus the cause of the splendid temple was also the cure of its false worship. It is a noteworthy fact that knowledge and refinement collide with, antagonize, and finally subvert all false religions.

Not so with the Christian religion: it thrives on the pabulum of education and literature, locks arms with culture, keeps step with science, takes a position in advance of all knowledge, and invites to a higher plane—a plane far above the proud soarings of our vainglorious scientists. The result was that when Paul came declaiming against idolatry and superstition on Mars' Hill he gained an easy victory, because the philosophers had gone before, as John the Baptist, and prepared the way. Ever since Paul spoke on Mars' Hill polytheism and idolatry have been smitten with decay—struck with death. They live, but they

live as the roots of trees live when the trunk has been cut away. *They live to rot.*

4. The Pnyx. This is the place where Demosthenes delivered his orations against Philip of Macedon. It lies at the edge of the city, about a hundred rods back of Mars' Hill. The bema is a rock platform, say twenty feet long and half as wide, and elevated some four feet from the ground. Behind is a natural wall of rock; in front, a little circular field slightly descending from the rostrum. The acoustic properties of this place are remarkable. I stood five hundred feet from the rostrum, and heard Dr. Constantine distinctly as he spoke in a conversational tone.

Here the classic orator of greatest antiquity gave us a type of oratory for our schools and public speakers, which, perhaps, will never perish. As showing the tenacity with which the Greeks adhere to their national life and customs, the Pnyx is still used as a place for public assembly and political harangues. A meeting was recently held there to consider the "Eastern Question," in which the Greeks are more deeply interested than any other nation. Thus, after a lapse of two thousand years, speeches were made by the professors of Athens University on the spot where Demosthenes stood, rivaling in spirit and eloquence, and perhaps excelling in learning, the orations of that great orator. The air of Greece is thick with independence, and the whole of Greece impregnate with hostility to the Moslem Government and religion.

On the opposite side of the town, at the base of towering Lycabettus, we find the works of modern art—the beginning of the Hellenic resurrection. Here are the Parliament House, the University, the Academy of Fine Arts, and most of the new and fine residences. Athens is the capital and chief city more on account of its prestige and ruins than its local advantages or commercial importance. But, having a population of fifty thousand, fine scenery, and all the government buildings, it is bound to be the chief city of Greece for some time to come. But she will not retain her supremacy without competition. Indeed, the chief commercial centers to-day are Syra, Corfu, Petras, and Pireus. And when the projected ship-canal is cut through the isthmus, these latter places will have the decided advantage, for then the Corinthian gulf will be the great highway to Asia

Minor and the Orient. And this improvement, in connection with the railway now under discussion, will give to Greece a maritime interest never before realized.

Petras and Corfu are large shipping ports, situated on the gulf of Corinth. Each has a population of twenty-five thousand. Corfu, on an island of the same name, is a lovely city, built on a high bluff, jutting out into the sea, in the midst of wild and deep ravines, which make it a romantic summer resort.

But leaving the cities, Greece has but little enchantment to the view. It is a small, rock-bound, hilly country, with thin soil, few streams, narrow valleys, and no forests except in the north. Parnassus and contiguous mountains are said to be well timbered with pines and oaks.

Greece has a prospect of enlargement. The Congress of Berlin, in 1878, advised a cession of territory by Turkey, which, if she obtains, and Crete is annexed, will nearly restore her ancient boundary. And to such restitution Providence evidently points. Indeed, the great powers of Europe could not do a wiser or more humane thing than to interject a Greek nation between Russia and Egypt, Syria and India.

England must cease to depend on Turkey to resist the encroachments of the Russian Bear. Turkey is a doomed nation, and Mohammedanism is a doomed religion. That government cannot rise to the civilization of the nineteenth century, and Mohammedanism cannot transfigure itself into Christianity. Both must perish. The Turk is every-where, like falling autumn leaves, the symbol of decay. But the Greeks represent vitality and recuperation, like the shooting vegetation and bursting flowers of spring. Like Milton's angels, "Vital in every part, they can but by annihilation die." The merchants who take the lead in all the important industries of that belt of States stretching from the Adriatic into Asia Minor are Greeks, and in numbers they form a larger factor than any other race. It has been estimated that there are four millions of Greeks now under Turkish rule in and about the *Ægean* Sea, two hundred and fifty thousand in Constantinople alone, ninety thousand in Cyprus, a half million in Crete, and so on.

The truth is, the Greek is as indigenous to the *Ægean* Sea and its outlying countries as the black man is to Africa. It is theirs

by the blood of a thousand battles and the graves of an illustrious ancestry stretching back into prehistoric times. Byron asserts the imperishability of this people on Grecian soil with as much truth as beauty:

"They fell devoted, but undying;
The very gale their names seemed sighing;
The waters murmured at their name;
The woods were peopled with their fame;
The silent pillar, lone and gray,
Claimed kindred with the sacred clay;
Their spirits wrapped the dusky mountain;
Their memory sparkled o'er the fountain;
The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
Rolled mingled with their fame forever;
Despite of every yoke she bears,
That land is glory's still, and theirs."

SIGNS OF NATIONAL RESUSCITATION.

The Greeks are renewing the whole face of the country, and reviving her mineral and agricultural resources. In 1863 the value of their imports and exports were six times as great as they were thirty years before. This may appear to be slow progress in our fast age; but it must be remembered Greece had every thing to re-create, soil, roads, forests, vineyards, public works, herds, and even population; for in the war of independence the greater part of the enterprising Greeks were slain. The truth is, the heroic Greek won territorial desolation on the verge of national extinction. Indeed, it was seriously proposed by the Turkish authorities to exterminate the whole Greek population. The *mufti* was consulted, and when he decided that the Koran did not allow the slaughter of the innocent with the guilty, he was accused of misinterpreting Scripture, and banished. Immediately the island of Scio was attacked with fire and sword, and in four days beautiful Scio, the seat of modern Greek literature and civilization, was a mass of blood and ashes. Out of a population of one hundred and thirty thousand only nine hundred were left, and these were taken into the markets of Smyrna and sold into slavery and debauch worse than death. But to-day, despite all this carnage and savagery, the commerce of Greece floats on every sea. England alone pays her five millions annually for her products.

MANUFACTORIES.

This little country is making rapid strides in manufactures. She promises to become the New England of the archipelago. Pireus, a town of eighteen thousand inhabitants, and which ten years ago did not possess a single manufactory, has at the present time more than thirty steam factories, representing as many industries. In the whole kingdom she has eight hundred and twelve factories, twenty-four thousand three hundred artisans employed in them, while the value of their annual products amounts to \$28,000,000. Her maritime trade is also very considerable. The amount of this may be inferred from the number of her merchant vessels, which in 1871 was six thousand one hundred and thirty-five, an increase of five thousand one hundred and thirty-five since the close of the war of independence.

GOVERNMENT.

The political institutions of Greece are a fair approach to our own government. They have a king, it is true, but he is little more than a permanent president, with less power than the President of the United States. They have a Constitution, a House of Deputies, and universal suffrage. With the exception of full religious toleration, their Constitution secures every right which our Constitution makes sacred; including even the Fifteenth Amendment. In Greece men cannot be bought and sold. A purchased slave, of whatever race or religion, is free from the time he enters Greece. The royalty is only a nominal sovereignty, like that of England. I heard an English gentleman conversing at the dinner-table with a Greek, a member of the Assembly. The Englishman, referring to the limited prerogatives of the king, said, "You have a republic with a king at the head." The Greek quickly retorted, "And you have a republic with a queen at the head." The government and laws of Greece are now well administered. As a result brigandage and the Vlaques, a horde of vagrant nomadic shepherds from whom the brigands sprung, have been suppressed. The Areopagus is again the supreme court of Greece.

EDUCATION.

The most remarkable feature of the Greek nation to-day is its devotion to education. It is a national passion. Her fa-

mous university was founded as late as 1837. Now it enrolls thirteen hundred students, with seventy-two professors, and a library of one hundred and fifty thousand volumes. They have a richly-endowed girls' school, and a whole constellation of other educational institutions for both sexes, and these are all fed by a system of primary schools that penetrate into every nook and corner in the land. The primary schools are both free and compulsory. Besides these there are night schools and lectures, and a system of secondary schools, which are numerous attended. The result is, Greece is plethoric with learning. She has more educated men than she knows what to do with. A traveler in Greece wanted a dragoman, and asked a member of the government to recommend a suitable man to act as a guide and interpreter. "Why not take my brother?" said the minister of the government; "you will find him just what you want; he is a graduate of the Athens University, speaks several languages, is a civil, obliging fellow, and anxious for a situation."

RELIGION.

The prevailing religion of Greece is that of the Greek Church, which is separate and distinct from the Greek Church of Russia, and differs but little from the Roman Catholic. It is the established Church, and affiliates more with the Oriental Patriarchates than with either the Russian, Greek, or Latin Churches. The late learned Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Cyclades, and friend of Mr. Gladstone, went to Jerusalem for ordination and true apostolic succession. Rome was too diluted. It is, however, one with them in faith, ritual, superstition, and sin. The parish priests are said to be ignorant and dissolute; they are of the peasant class, and entirely dependent on voluntary contributions for their support. They must be married men, and cannot, therefore, be promoted, for the canon law requires the bishops to be celibates or widowers. I was told two priests were in prison, and several bishops had been sent to the monasteries for bribery and fraud. They bought their bishoprics, corrupted the voters, and oppressed the people. A teacher in a Protestant school told me the law required the parish priest to come to the school periodically and catechise the children. She also said it was her custom to tell the stupid man what to say when he had any moral advice to give.

I attended a service on Thursday morning in the Greek Church. Not understanding the language or motions, I supposed the priests were preparing to perform the marriage ceremony for a well-dressed and handsome couple who stood by themselves in a recess. But the service being short, the supposed bride kissed the crucifix held up to her, and both retired, passing quite near me, entered a carriage, and drove away. It proved to be King George and Queen Olga. The young king looks amiable, and is said to be quite democratic and unassuming, whether of choice or necessity does not appear. He is a Lutheran, and has a private chapel and chaplain in his palace, while his wife is of the Greek Church of Russia. The government gives but a meager support to the higher clergy. The Metropolitan Bishop of Athens receives but one thousand and seventy-five dollars; other bishops less. From this and other facts it would seem that the Greek Church has not a stronghold in Greece. A pure and earnest type of religion, I am persuaded, would rapidly commend itself to the people. As a result of the ecclesiastical degeneracy in Greece the educated men are reported to be infidel. Therefore the learning of this rising Greek microcosm of letters threatens to become a mighty power of mischief, because unsanctified.

Now, what is vital Christianity doing to resuscitate this dead Church, or to supersede it? What Protestant agencies are at work to leaven the Greek schools with evangelism, and regenerate the head and heart of the Hellenic race? I found five Protestant organizations represented in Athens. The first and oldest mission is that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, founded more than fifty years ago by Dr. and Mrs. Hill. They are still there, though the doctor has passed into the venerable state of *emeritus* superannuation, being an octogenarian of eighty-six years. His work chiefly consists in teaching schools. He employs American ladies as teachers, and they make part of his family. Dr. Hill fraternizes more with the Greek Church than with the other Protestant missionaries. I was told that the Greek priests are so well pleased with him, that they have intimated a willingness, in case of his death, to give him a funeral. His schools are large, and, though subject to the inspection and teaching of the Catechism by the Greek priests, they are evangelical in their tendency.

The second mission is Congregational, under Dr. Constantine, supported through a committee composed of the president and professors of Amherst College. Dr. Constantine preaches every Sabbath to a congregation of forty, with a Sunday-school of the same number. He has written and published a commentary on the New Testament in modern Greek. The doctor is doing a good work, and if all his irons were made red hot by a baptism of the Holy Ghost he would burn his way into the Greek heart.

The Presbyterians of the South are represented in the person of Rev. Mr. Kalipatharkis, a man of Greek origin, like his colleague, Dr. Constantine. His work, however, is more discur-sive. He itinerates, and depends more upon public preaching. In this line he meets with some opposition and danger from violence. He, too, has a good school, and is evidently diffusing an evangelical influence. Another Greek, Rev. Mr. Sacularis, represents the Baptist Church, and is doing similar work, with the same moderate success.

The Woman's Union Foreign Missionary Society, whose head-quarters are in New York city, had two female workers in Athens. One of them, Mrs. Fluhart, is a Methodist. Excepting this lone prophetess, in this abnormal relation, Methodism has no part or lot in the matter of Greek evangelization. These ladies impressed me as being both earnest and spiritual, and they had a most interesting school. Since we were there the government officers required them to hang a picture of the "Virgin" on the wall of the school-room, and allow the priests to come in and catechise the children. This they refused, and the school was closed. They have now gone to Cyprus, where John Bull will see that they have fair play.

I might mention another agency, which will show the unrest and struggles of the Greek mind in relation to religion.

There lives in Athens a *materialist*, who has published the English Prayer Book in the native language, to which he has appended moral exhortations. Being a man of wealth, he circulates the book gratuitously. He professes to be influenced by motives of patriotism, and justifies his inconsistency on the ground that morality and religion are necessary to the existence and prosperity of the State. There is, also, an association

called the "Friends of the People," which gives free public lectures, secular and religious.

From all these facts it appears that the unclean spirit of polytheism, and of groveling baseness and brutality, which characterizes the Turk and the Arab, has gone out of the ruling spirit of the Hellenic people. The Greek mind is "empty, swept, and garnished" by literature and civilization, so far as that can be done by those agencies. Now the danger is that the unclean spirit, finding the Greek mind in such a prepared condition, will "take to itself seven other spirits," and re-enter, when the last state of that nation will be worse than the first. What is the duty of the living Churches in such an emergency? Is it not that at any expense and without the loss of a day they should preoccupy this educated moral vacuity with pure gospel truth? What missionary field on the face of the globe demands such haste? or where else shall we find forces so potential ready to our hand? Greece, to-day, is a magazine of literary and intellectual thunderbolts. These are active agents, that cannot lie inert, like buried gold and fossil remains, doing neither good nor harm for ages. It is in their nature to make themselves felt for good or for evil. If they are sanctified, Greece may soon be next to England as an intelligent evangelizer; if not, she will soon supplement German rationalism and French infidelity.

True to her ancestral character, Greece is destined to be a nation of ideas. Her thin soil and rugged hills necessitate this. Thought is born of rocks, and genius of hard times. In every age we find the muses and genius nestled among mountain peaks, and perched on crags, and dipping their wings in troubled waters. Greece, like New England, Scotland, and the hill country of India, is required by nature to give birth to intellectual greatness. Anciently she felt these mental throes indigenous to her soil, and, having no Star of Bethlehem to guide her wise men to the infant incarnate Light of the world, that lay sleeping in Mary's arms, they gave to the world the highest type of heathen philosophy, and a universal standard of flowing numbers. It was a spontaneity. She did her best. It was not her fault that some of her theories turned out to be philosophy falsely so-called; it was the want of light; and now that she has come out of her grave the only nation that has had

a resurrection in the history of the world, and is beginning instinctively to build up her ancient glory in the kingdom of letters, it must be that Providence has a mission for her of no ordinary magnitude. It may be the divine purpose that from this little "Ephratah" the Saviour shall go forth again to resuscitate the extinct apostolic Churches. The literature of Greece is now circulated in Thessalonica, Smyrna, and other sites of these old apostolic foundations. Greeks print twenty-five daily newspapers.

The Church cannot afford to neglect these occult forces and pent-up energies of New Greece. They are irrepressible, and must become a "savor of life unto life, or of death unto death." The duty of the hour is to saturate the schools and literature of Greece with spiritual Christianity, and we must cease to depend on the scholastic method, and mass our strength on direct preaching. Who will go, without purse or scrip, if need be, and preach on Mars' Hill? If I were young I would haste to this moral waste, where the letter killeth, asking only to be accredited by my Church and commissioned by the Holy Ghost.

ART. VI.—MILEY ON THE ATONEMENT.

THE Atonement is the heart of the Christian organism. As our Lord Jesus Christ, in the act of crucifixion, thrust forward his heart, as his head reclined to the right, and as the Roman soldier pierced the pericardium with his spear when the atoning death was achieved, making the physical organ visible, so is the heart of God revealed in all the vital functions which the atonement affects. A defective theory of Atonement involves cardinally a defective theology. It is heart disease in its highest, worst, and most fatal form. A true theory of Atonement sends its life-blood into every fiber and tissue of a body of divinity, and compels the health of symmetrical "proportion of faith," as the apostle calls it, by throwing off what is extraneous, and healing what is defective. Andrew Fuller thought systematic theology should begin at the cross as the center of divine manifestation, and from that focal point of infinite light, love, justice, wisdom, and condescending

almightiness, the endless rays of all divine attributes, purposes, plans, and works could be traced to best advantage.

Methodism has had from the start a homogeneous and symmetrical theology. It is such a theology as will bear being preached. It has not one set of dogmas for the creed and catechism and another for the pulpit. Truth never needs suppression; still less is it capable of contradiction. A complimentary representative from a Calvinistic denomination told our General Conference a few years ago that Calvinists preached like Arminians. If Arminianism is good for the pulpit, it is good for the creed, the catechism, the theologic treatise, the profession of faith; for the one ought to be the exponent of the other, and truth is sacrificed if there be disharmony.

So busy has Methodism been in preaching its saving truths, demonstrated as truths by their widespread saving efficacy, that we have had very little time to formulate them into a literature. Dr. Miley, who has shown by his footnotes and otherwise that he has surveyed the field, frankly confesses that our literature on this central theme of salvation is very meager. Methodism is rich in literature. We have our precious biographies, our sacred lyrics, our biblical comments, our systematic divinity, our homiletics; but anthropology and soteriology have not taken wide and specific literary form.

A new ecclesiastical era is upon us. What Amherst has been to Congregationalism and Princeton to Presbyterianism, Drew, Evanston, and Boston are about to be to Methodism. A book-making age has come to our Zion. Whether it will be best for the unity, simplicity, and effectiveness of our faith remains to be seen. This book of Dr. Miley's, at all events, is a great gain in the right direction. We hail it with pleasure.

It is natural for a teacher to write didactically. This excellent book is evidently prepared for didactic purposes. The didactic needs of the author in the lecture-room doubtless necessitated it, and the material is put in the form of a textbook, which will probably take its place in our theological seminaries and in the revised course of study for our traveling preachers.

Dr. Miley's cast of mind is logical, perhaps too severely so. Logic is shy of tropes and metaphors. Logic keeps the naked

thought in view; dressed in metaphor, it may mean too little or too much. In the work before him logic has cause for unadorned simplicity, severity, and directness. Nothing could take the place of it. But one cannot avoid the thought that a little ornamentation could with safety be occasionally indulged without peril to perspicuity and logical precision, and with manifest help to the average reader and student. Bald rock glints with mica and quartz. Frowning mountain peaks are decked with fern and ivy. Our Lord, the severest of logicians, abated no part of logical precision by parable and illustration. If our acute Drew professor had occasionally picked a flower by the way and indulged in an analogue, he might have made a book of less hard reading, and logic would not have been sacrificed to the graces of rhetoric.

Dr. Miley believes in short sentences. Manifestly he thinks each thought should be shut up to its own sentence. A thought has enough duality or plurality to be shut up in a sentence, as it were housekeeping in its own castle, without having the repulsiveness of a hermit. More than one thought, dual or plural in attribute, is often let into the homestead, at the expense of elegance, perspicuity, and effectiveness, on the principle that two families live in one house with less comfort than in two; but, without meaning to be hypercritical, it has seemed to me that in many cases the doctor might lengthen his sentences with happy effect, and with a gain in power.

The *fact* of Atonement is admitted by all who admit the Bible. Atonement is *the* fact of the Bible. Prophets before apostles testified the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow. A suffering Christ is meaningless except as he is an atoning Christ. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. This is the central truth of Christianity. This *is* Christianity. Reconciliation involves atonement. Reconciliation *is* atonement. The word "atonement" occurs but once in the New Testament. "And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement." Rom. v, 11. The word is *καταλλαγή*. It is used four times. Twice it is translated "reconciliation," and once "reconciling." It is an old Saxon combination—at-one-ment: the means and act of being at one with one with whom we have been at variance.

Sin is alienating. It alienates man from his fellow; it alienates man from God. "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God." Isa. lix, 2. The alienation is mutual. Not only does the sinner turn from God, but God turns from the sinner. Sin never can be regarded with complacency by a holy being, still less by one infinitely holy. "God is angry with the wicked every day." Ps. vii, 11. And the sinner turns with such malevolence from God that "the carnal mind," which man has apart from the renewing of the Spirit which makes him "spiritually minded," "is enmity against God." Rom. viii, 7.

The Atonement is the means of ending this alienation. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." 2 Cor. v, 19. God loved his enemies, and in Christ looked upon them in compassion. God loved the unlovely, the hideous, the repulsive, and in Christ reached out in quest of the prodigal and the lost. And the Atonement is the means of ending human alienation from God. The ministry of reconciliation in Christ puts into operation influences divine, angelic, and human, by the highest motions of which our nature is capable, to induce us to be "reconciled to God."

Atonement reaches God-ward, not to *make* God placable; for the placability of God made the Atonement; but to remove all barriers in good and righteous government to the legitimate exercise of placability. Atonement reaches man-ward, to secure voluntary acceptance of the divine overture and all the blessings of reconciliation; for, as sin is voluntary alienation, the Atonement calls for a voluntary termination of it.

Our author fortifies impregnably the basal truth of the reality of the Atonement by what he calls "witnessing facts" and "witnessing terms;" and insists that a true theory of atonement should fit these facts and be in full harmony with these terms. As in any science, a true theory will be the outgrowth of the facts and an inductive generalization from the factors which the God of nature puts at our disposal in the revelation of his works; so in this science of redemption, a true theory will be the outgrowth of biblical facts and an induction from the inspired factors which the God of supernature puts at our disposal in the revelation of his word. Any theory is false if it is not true to all these facts and terms; a theory true to them all has highest proof of being true.

What is the true theory of the Atonement? is *the* question in Dr. Miley's book. In answering it there must be no preconceived opinions, no favorite hypotheses. There must be pure love of truth. Lord Brougham says, "There is nothing so plain to which the influence of a preconceived opinion, or the desire of furthering a favorite hypothesis, will not blind men; their blindness in such cases bears even a proportion to their learning and ingenuity."

A priori, we cannot conclude as to the fact of the Atonement or what the Atonement is; for we can have no *a priori* knowledge of God. God is known only so far as he chooses to reveal himself. His works are known only so far as revelation, either natural or supernatural, makes them knowable. In the simplest of all God's works there are impenetrable *adyta*. No philosopher has a plummet long enough to sound the depths of mystery in an atom. A man must be very bold in presumptive arrogance when he ventures beyond revelation in his theorizing concerning confessedly the greatest of all the works of God. Creation, *a priori*, is unknown; it is known only so far as it is revealed in the things that are made: and creation cost God only a word; for "he spake and it was done; he commanded and it stood fast." The mysteries of Redemption are as much greater, we would argue, as its cost is greater, for in redemption God had to become incarnate, suffer, and in his human nature bleed and die.

Frederick Robertson insisted that truth should be put constructively, by stating it without polemics with the opposing error. Robertson thought the establishment of truth was *per se* the destruction of error. The ushering of light is the dismissal of darkness. In the main, this is the proper method, if we can judge from the example of the Great Teacher.

In a work where such valuable service has been rendered the cause of truth, we should be very modest in venturing a criticism at so vital a point of methodology; but Dr. Miley's argument, which is apparently unanswerable, would perhaps have been more satisfactorily, effectively, and logically put if Robertson's idea had been carried out by a clear enunciation of what he calls the Governmental Theory as the primary and staple part of this division of his discussion, leaving the confutation of the Moral Theory, which he calls no atonement at all, and

of the Satisfactional Theory, to as natural result as the fading of darkness before the opening beams of day. For satisfactory reasons, doubtless, to his own mind, the author has concluded that the confutation of error was the proper prelude to the establishment of truth; and he has evidently kept in thought "the influence of preconceived opinions and the desire of furthering favorite hypotheses," of which Brougham speaks; and felt the importance of preparing the way for a true literature on this central point in theology, where the vast bulk was on the wrong side.

Arminianism is not only good to preach, as Dr. Patton has ingenuously confessed; it is good to write and print and publish. Illogically so far as the creed is concerned, but logically so far as the oracles of truth are, Satisfactionists have, both in review and volume, come over to the true Governmental idea.

Albert Barnes, identified with the New School dissent from hyper-Calvinism, and the chief mover in that organization, but who came over to the unified Church in which the old theology was reaffirmed, has written some of the strongest words in the Arminian line of thought.

Dr. Enoch Pond, in "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," 1856; says all that Dr. Miley or Dr. Raymond claim:—

He (Christ) endured, not the proper penalty of the law, but a complete governmental substitute for the penalty. His sufferings and death in our room and stead as fully sustain the authority of law, as fully meet the demands of justice, as fully answer all the purposes of the divine government, as would the infliction of the penalty itself; and consequently are a complete substitute for the penalty; or, in other words, a complete atonement.

It is commonly and justly understood among evangelical Christians, that Christ's death was vicarious, or that he died as a substitute. But a substitute how? and for what? Not that he endured the proper penalty of the law for us, but that he endured an adequate substitute for that penalty; so that the penalty itself may now be safely and consistently remitted. Were the penalty all borne, there would be nothing to be remitted. But as it has not been borne, but only a substitute for it—as it has not been removed, but only a way opened by which it may be—there is as much need of forgiveness as though the Saviour had not died.

This is not the monergism of Calvinism, in which redemption has been achieved by contract between the Father and the Son

for a definite number, who are the elect, no more and no less ; but it is the synergism of Arminianism, in which the result of redemption "may be," if we comply with the requisite conditions.

Dr. Symington, as quoted by Dr. Miley, defines Atonement, "Such act or acts as shall accomplish all the moral purposes which, to the infinite wisdom of God, appear fit and necessary under a system of rectoral holiness, and which must otherwise have been accomplished by the exercise of retributive justice upon transgressors in their own persons." This definition Dr. Miley willingly admits.

The definition of Atonement given by the author is more succinct, but full : "The vicarious sufferings of Christ are an atonement for sin as a conditional substitute for penalty, fulfilling, on the forgiveness of sin, the obligation of justice and the office of penalty in the moral government."

Truth in a theory of Atonement must be the analogue of truth in any other theory. A true theory of astronomy must harmonize with the phenomena of the sidereal bodies. A true theory of electricity must harmonize with the phenomena of this subtle fluid. A true theory of Atonement must harmonize with the phenomena which twinkle like the fixed stars in the firmament of everlasting truth, revolve like the planets in the orbit of obedience to law, and shine like the sun, the center of light and gravitating power, and with the flashes and thunder of the storms of wrath which purify the air and precede the beauty of the bow of promise and of hope. What are these phenomena ?

1. As the Atonement is for sin, it must meet the demands of the demerit, the guilt, the condemnation, the pollution, the enormity, the hideousness, the prevalence, the suffering, the death of sin. No theory meets the facts either in biblical record, or in the experience of life, which in any measure makes light of sin and dares not treat it with the awful gravity which the facts of an accusing and punitive conscience and all the experiences of transgression attest. The doctrine of sin must be tremendously emphatic. "Sin by the commandment" is "exceedingly sinful." Its heinousness and malignity are mitigated only by apposition to the commandment. A theory which deals with sin as if it were curative by the influence of

moral example is as philosophical as the proposed cure of consumption by a rubefacient, or of cancer by a smelling-bottle. Atonement, deep enough to eradicate the cancer of sin and to heal the tubercles of depravity, broad enough to cover the spiritual needs of human nature, must strike down deeper than sin; must be stronger than sin; must have more than the element of philanthropy; must be more than human. Perhaps an unhappy and sometimes misleading use has been made of the phrase "total depravity." The phrase is nowhere used in Scripture, though, rightly interpreted, the doctrine contained in it is fundamental in the Scripture. Man is not totally depraved in the sense that he is a fiend; though he may grow to be such by the downward trend of transgression; nor is he as bad as he can be, and bad in all respects, though this is the tendency. Possibly "universal degeneracy" would be to some minds a phrase more expressive of biblical statement and human experience; but, call it what you will, there is an abounding in sin and a frightful power, which call for more than a lackadaisical sentimentalism. The influence of moral example is good as far as it goes, and we could not have atonement without it; but soteriology demands sterner things in dealing with such a stern outlaw as sin—it calls for suffering, for blood, for death.

2. As the Atonement is for holiness, it must rise to a super-abounding pre-eminence above the abounding amplitude and power of sin, and give adequate motive, sufficient help and ample resources for a clean heart and a holy life. This cannot be done by any mere humanitarian appeals. Still less can it be done by any alleged capriciousness and arbitrary discrimination on the part of God, doing all for some, nothing for others, and setting forth a rule of conduct calculated to make us partial and unlovely. If I believed Calvinism true and myself one of the elect, I might fear God, but I hardly see how I could love such an arbitrary being; and if I regarded myself as one of the reprobate, not included in the Satisfaction Theory in which Christ died for the elect, I should feel it a sort of virtue to hate a being guilty of such outrageous enormity. A true theory of atonement sets before both saint and sinner an example of Fatherhood, of Brotherhood, of rigid justice, of compassionate love, of infinite magnanimity, which appeal with

constraining power to all that is manly, magnanimous, and responsive to truth in natures which, though wrecked, have enough salvage to keep on the voyage of accountable probation. Holiness has its stern as well as gentle traits. Holiness is practical goodness; and goodness in its practical achievements, in a world of sin, whatever may be the case in a world where there is none, has rigid, stern, and severe attributes. The Atonement is to cultivate many-sided, symmetrical, manly character, tender, gentle, sweet, and pure—feminine in the loveliness of embodied love, masculine in the strength of embodied justice and righteousness.

3. As the Atonement is the highest exhibition of the glory and symmetry of the Divine Nature, it must have nothing ignoble or calculated to challenge the criticism of generous minds, and it must have an affluence pre-eminently worthy of God. Moses never rose to a point of greater sublimity of conduct than when he declined the guidance of a mere angel and stood ready to resign his high office if God himself did not go with the people. Strangely in contrast with the spirit of Moses is that theology which insists that the leadership of a mere man is sufficient for us. If Jesus is a mere Man, redemption is not the chief exhibition of divine glory and power. Creation towers above it; for *God* created the heavens and the earth. But as that big little word "*so*" in the sixteenth of the third chapter of John, and all the logic of the entire tenor of Scripture, and the progressiveness of the works of God, render the Atonement superlatively exalted as a Divine Manifestation, a true theory must see in Jesus supreme and superlative Godhead in his highest and divinest functions. If angels have been baffled students of the redemptive plan for thousands of years, with all the helps to knowledge which they possess, it must certainly have more than a finite element in it; and if such noble and generous beings bend with such zest of inquiry, it must be more than a piece of bargain and sale of so much for so many.

4. As the Atonement is for man's sin, it is for the sin of every man; and as every man has sinned, it is for every man not in a public, ostensible, but insincere and ineffective sense, as if "the world," "every creature," "all men," were used in an exoteric sense for common consistency's sake; but the ex-

oteric and esoteric declarations of divine provision and purpose are the same; the secret and the published decree of the divine counsel are identical, and the Atonement is not limited but universal; it is not for the elect only, but for the entire human family.

5. As the Atonement is for man, it is for man as he is, with all his power of volition. Material things come to us conditionally. Intellectual things come in the same way. Why should not spiritual and eternal things, with which the Atonement specially has to do? The true theory of man's relation to both Nature and Providence is synergism, and not monergism. Atonement is out of analogy with all the works and ways of God, if it involves a different arrangement.

6. As the Atonement is from sin unto holiness, as it is the chief display of divine glory, and for all men, though realized in its saving efficiency by those only who comply with the conditions, it is full, complete, and perfect; full, because not fragmentary; complete, because not defective; perfect, because it is free from all inadequacy to meet the sublime ends for which as a plan it was achieved. It is adequate to save from all sin; to rescue from the deepest degeneracy; to uplift the chief and vilest of transgressors; to impart an entire justification, a complete sanctification, a victory over every foe, and the endless and ever-augmenting beatitudes of an eternal heaven: in a word, to make us like Jesus here, and endlessly and ever-increasingly like him in glory.

And, 7. As the Atonement is by suffering, Christ having once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, in this vicarious substitution, and as the whole line of truth indicates it as an infinite achievement, the suffering involved was nothing less than infinite. Dr. Miley argues this conclusively:

Nor have we the truest, deepest sense of the sufferings of Christ, except in the fact that he endured them as the *Theanthropos*. With the doctrine of a union of the divine and human natures in a unity of personality in Christ, and that in the incarnation he was truly the *God-man*, we know not either the theology or philosophy which may limit his sufferings to a mere human consciousness. And with the impassivity of his divine nature in the incarnation and atonement, many texts of Scripture, fraught with infinite treasures of grace and love, would be little more than meaningless words. On such a principle their

exegesis would be superficial and false to their infinitely deeper meaning. The divine Son incarnate, and so incarnate in human nature as to unite it with himself in personal unity, could suffer, and did suffer, in the redemption of the world.

Redemption from suffering by suffering involves the element of infinity. If sin has its course, and ultimates in the penal death which violated law threatens, there is the element of infinity in it; for such suffering our Lord says is "everlasting" or eternal; and eternity is infinity. If our Atoning Substitute saves even one sinner from the ultimate consequences of sin, he does it by suffering, and this vicarious suffering must have the element of infinity in it. That element is not eternity, for Christ suffered "*once*," to suffer no more; he died "*once*," to die no more; but the element of infinity is to be sought in sufferings endured in finite time. How could this be except as it was endured by an Infinite Nature? If *Christ* suffered, the divine nature suffered, for Christ is divine as well as human. And if the divine nature suffered, the infinite element is introduced into the atoning sufferings in finite time.

It has long been a favorite view of theologians that God is impassible; that he is incapable of suffering. But do the Scriptures anywhere teach this? Is it not a venturing in theological dogma beyond the bounds of revelation? Is it not a substitution of a deduction from human reasoning for a "thus saith the Lord?" Is it not a limiting of the Holy One of Israel? Is it not a contradiction of what God says concerning himself? Dr. Miley cites many passages of Scripture bearing on this vital issue.

On psychological grounds, apart from revelation, we do not question that ability to suffer is the complement and correlate of ability to enjoy. Where there is no ability to enjoy, there is none to suffer; but wherever there is ability to enjoy, there always is, and, from the nature of the case, there must be, ability to suffer; and the ability in one direction is the measure of the ability in the other. As God is undeniably capable of enjoyment, and enjoyment that is infinite, it is a reckless declaration, violative of psychological facts, as well as out of harmony with the word of God, for any one to affirm that he is incapable of suffering. To say the least, it is very immodest for men to speak dogmatically concerning what is impossi-

ble in a nature as illimitable as God's, when they cannot tell what is the limit of possibility in their own. More than that, it is impious, and a familiarity which God has taken occasion to resent on more occasions than one. If God has established the great law, which we see contradicted nowhere, but asserted every-where in the whole compass of sentient being, that ability to suffer invariably and necessarily accompanies ability to enjoy, it would certainly require a very explicit divine revelation on the subject to make it possible for us to believe that he violated in his own nature his own law.

The Atonement is an infinite transaction. It is the highest divine achievement. It is the sublimest and divinest visible manifestation of the heart of God. It may prove the central event in all history. Its primary applications are to our lost but redeemed world; its wider, ultimate, and eternal applications are "to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." Eph. iii, 10-11.

ART. VII.—A HARMONY OF THE EGYPTIAN AND MO-SAIC RECORDS.

WE give from the London (Wesleyan) Quarterly Review for January, 1880, part of an article on Egyptian Chronology, which furnishes a remarkably clear view of its accord with the Hebrew chronology. Its identification of Menes with Mizraim is as good as any other account of Menes; that is, pretty much good for nothing. Such identification supposes but a brief period for the founding of a kingdom of Egypt; and thus perhaps demands the Septuagint chronology at that era. It furnishes no room for the legendary slow growth and mature grandeur of the empire of Menes; but it furnishes other legends quite as authentic, namely, that Abraham, 2,000 years before Christ, taught arithmetic to the Egyptians! The more rational supposition seems, perhaps, to be that Mizraim or Menes led the first immigration to Egypt, and occupied the ground whence the kingdom of Egypt rose, and so was the essential founder.

He carried much of the antediluvian science and civilization inherited through Noah with him; but the fantasy that he was a great monarch preceded by ages of development is too absurd for any but the greediest credulity.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONTRADICTIONS AMONG EGYPTOLOGISTS.

The late Dean Milman had no hesitation in declaring, in his "History of the Jews," that "the internal evidence in respect to the genuineness of the Mosaic records is to me conclusive. All attempts to assign a later period for the authorship, or even for the compilation, though made by scholars of the highest ability, are so *irreconcilable with facts*, so self-destructive, and so *mutually destructive*, that I acquiesce without hesitation in the general antiquity."—Vol. i, p. 46. This conclusion of a distinguished historian respecting the "mutually destructive" nature of rationalistic speculations on the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Moses, appears still more evident when we see the differences which exist among those who ignore Scripture testimony respecting various incidents in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. We propose to set this plainly before our readers in the following brief tables.

First, as regards the primary colonizer or protomonarch of Egypt after the dispersion at Babel. *His name is first seen on the monuments in the reign of Pharaoh Seti I., in the fifteenth century B. C., and therefore nearly 1,000 years after the biblical date of the Noachian deluge.* It is read now by Birch and other Egyptian scholars as *Mena*, by Herodotus and the Greek historians as *Menes*, and in Genesis as "Mizraim," the son of Ham and grandson of Noah. Of him Manetho, the Egyptian scribe, thus speaks: "After the dead demigods, the first king was Menes the Thenite; and he reigned *sixty-two years*;" while Syncellus, a Byzantine historian, who gives the canon of the kings of Egypt, says that "Mizraim, who is the same as Menes, reigned *thirty-five years*." This difference between two ancient historians respecting the duration of the reign of him who is regarded as the first king of Egypt, is significant of the amazing variations between modern interpreters of Manetho as to the time when the said Menes lived. Thus the era of Menes is dated by various chronologers as follows:

1. Mariette-Bey computes the era of Menes to have begun.....	B.C. 5004
2. Brugsch-Bey.....	" 4400
3. Lepsius.....	" 3890
4. Bunsen, on the first occasion.....	" 3623
5. Bunsen, on the second occasion.....	" 3059

showing a variation of nearly 2,000 years for the foundation of the Egyptian kingdom.

So as regards the time when that greatest of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, was erected,

the differences among scholars of the present day are still more marked. This will be seen in the following table :

1. Le Suer computes the building of the Great Pyramid.....	B.C. 4975
2. Brugsch-Bey.....	" 3657
3. Bunsen.....	" 3460
4. Lepsius.....	" 3426
5. Piazzi Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland.....	" 2170
6. The late Sir George Cornwalle Lewis.....	" 993

Thus showing a difference of nearly 4,000 years ! The only one of the above quoted authorities whose date may be accepted as the most correct, and this only approximately, is that of Professor Piazzi Smyth ; and he is far from ignoring Scripture, though we believe he accepts the Septuagint computation in preference to that of the Hebrew.

THE EARLIEST INSCRIBED MONUMENTS.

As many Egyptologists in the present day ignore the evidence of Scripture on this subject, it is satisfactory to know that the elder Champollion, who may be regarded as the founder of Egyptology, in allusion to such skeptics once wrote : "They will find in this work an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have demonstrated that *no Egyptian monument is really older than the year 2200 B. C.*"* This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points : for it is, in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the Egyptian history accords with the sacred writings."† More recent discoveries in Egypt since Champollion's time have proved that a tablet, which has been in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford for upward of two centuries, must be approximately dated about B.C. 2300, and therefore about a century older than any monument known to the learned Frenchman.

Assuming, then, for a moment, that this Oxford monument, as being the oldest proof of man's existence at present known to us, may be dated within a century of the biblical date of the Noachian flood, *circa* B.C. 2348, we have the authority of the Turin papyrus for saying that only 355 years elapsed between the era of Menes, or the first colonization of Egypt, and the end of the sixth dynasty. This would give the approximate date to the end of the sixth dynasty somewhere in the twenty-first century B.C. It has long been seen by Egyptologists that some of Manetho's dynasties are certainly contemporaneous. It is the failure of not seeing this which has caused certain authors to prolong the dura-

* The author of "Grant's Travels Around the World" says that for other antiquities we have only traditions and doubtful records ; for Egypt there are the sure monuments. And certainly an inscribed contemporary monument would be a very conclusive voucher. But, lo, the earliest monument is of about the era of Abraham !—Ed.

† "Ancient Egypt, its Monuments and History," p. 56.

tion of some of the early dynasties far beyond what the truth of history warrants.

A series of Pharaohs, discovered by Mariette-Bey on a tomb at Saqqarah, near Memphis, implies that in the order of succession *the sixth dynasty is immediately followed by the twelfth dynasty.* In the sepulchral grottoes of *Beni Hassan*, on the banks of the Nile, there are still to be seen some inscriptions belonging to the early kings of the last-named dynasty. Special mention is there made of the "Panegyry, or Festival of the First Year," which Poole refers to the commencement of the *tropical cycle*, that is, a perfectly exact cycle of the sun, moon, and vague year, which happened in the reign of Amenemes, one of the early kings of the twelfth dynasty, and which the science of astronomy has enabled the Astronomer Royal of England to fix at the date of B.C. 2005.*

ERA OF ABRAHAM.

According to the Hebrew chronology, Abraham's visit to Egypt took place not many years before that date, *circa* B.C. 2010. According to the testimony of Josephus, when Abraham went down into Egypt he found the Egyptians quarreling concerning their sacred rites. By his skill in disputation the patriarch confuted the arguments on all sides, and by his influence succeeded in composing their differences. Moreover he is said to have taught the Egyptians arithmetic and the science of astronomy, for before the time of Abraham, Josephus says, "they were unacquainted with that sort of learning."† The Jewish historian does not give his authority for such a statement, but when it is remembered that the temple records of Egypt were still in existence at the time when Josephus wrote, and that his work was specially addressed to the Greek and Egyptian philosophers of Alexandria as an apology for his own nation, we may accept his statement as true history. Moreover, this remarkable incident in the life of Abraham is confirmed, according to Eusebius,‡ by two heathen historians, Berosus and Eupolemus, both of whom lived between three and four centuries prior to the time of Josephus.

Osburn adduces some evidence in proof of Abraham's visit to Egypt having occurred during the reign of Pharaoh Acthoes, the father of Amenemes, the first king of the famous twelfth dynasty, and asserts with confidence that while Acthoes and his times, and of those of all his predecessors, there exists no single record of king or subject *having a date*, yet tablets and papyri inscribed with dates of the years of the reign of Amenemes, the son and immediate successor of Acthoes, are not uncommon. The same practice continued with all the successors of Amenemes to the end of the monarchy."§

* Poole's *Horæ Egypticæ*, part i, § 11.

† Josephus, "Antiquities," lib. i, c. viii, §§ 1, 2.

‡ Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.*, § 9.

§ Osburn's "Monumental History of Egypt," vol. i, chap. vi.

We have thus some authentic evidence for concluding that these three coinciding events, namely, the visit of Abraham to Egypt in the reign of Acthoes, the knowledge of arithmetic acquired by the Egyptians as proved by the introduction of *dates* on the monuments of that period, and the establishment of the earliest cycle, known as "the Tropical Cycle:" all these events must have taken place within a few years of the date B.C. 2000. And since this synchronises with the biblical date for the time of Abraham's visit, it is satisfactory to know that the Egyptian monuments afford still more conclusive proof of the correctness of the Hebrew chronology for the succeeding fifteen centuries.

ERA OF ISRAEL'S SOJOURN.

Before, however, proceeding to show from the monuments the confirmation of the biblical story of the Exodus, it may be well to notice what we gather from Scripture respecting the interval of four hundred and thirty years mentioned in Exod. xii, 40, between the time of Abraham and the exode of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt. We have already found some evidence for computing the date of the exode at B.C. 1580, and the time of Abraham at B.C. 2010. And the date of a very important event in the history of Egypt, namely, the overthrow of the Shepherd dynasty, is fixed by Brugsch, in his interpretation of Manetho, to the year B.C. 1706, the starting-point of what he considers to be reliable chronology, whereas all previous chronology must be regarded as more or less conjectural. The following table, founded on Scripture testimony, will show a very important synchronism in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. In the first chapter of Exodus it is recorded that "Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation;" and it is added in the verse following, "Now there arose up a new king which knew not Joseph," evidently implying a marked change in the treatment of Joseph's people at the hands of the Egyptians from that which they had formerly received. This can only be explained by the great change which must have ensued on the transfer of power from the rule of the foreign Hycsos, or Shepherd kings, to that of the native dynasty of the Pharaohs. In Exod. vi, 16 the death of Levi, the brother of Joseph, and the last surviving member of that generation, as we may fairly assume, is recorded at the age of one hundred and thirty-seven, and the year before the rise of the new king, which took place, according to the testimony of Manetho, B.C. 1706; the death of Levi having taken place in the preceding year, as our table, gathered out of Scripture, clearly shows:

	B.C.	Year of call.	Genesis.
Abraham's visit to Egypt at the age of 75.....	2010	1	xii, 1, 4, 10.
Isaac born when Abraham was 100	1985	25	xxii, 1, 21.
Isaac married Rebecca when 40	1945	65	xxv, 20.
Jacob born when Isaac was 60	1925	85	xxv, 26.
Abraham's death at 175.....	1910	100	xxv, 7.

	B.C.	Year of call.	Genesis.
Joseph born when Jacob was 91.....	1834	176	xlvi, 6; xlvii, 9.
Joseph sold into Egypt at 17.....	1817	193	xxxvii, 2.
Joseph viceroy of Egypt when 30.....	1804	206	xli, 46.
End of the seven years' plenty.....	1797	213	xli, 47, 54.
Jacob presented to Pharaoh when 130, in the second year of the seven years' famine.....	1795	215	xlvi, 6; xlvii, 9.
Jacob's death at the age of 147.....	1778	232	xlvii, 28.
Joseph's death at the age of 110.....	1724	286	i, 26.
Levi's death at the age 137.....	1707	303	i, 6; vi, 16.
Rise of the king which knew not Joseph.....	1706	304	i, 8.
Moses born.....	1660	350	ii, 1-10.
Moses flies to Midian when 40.....	1620	390	ii, 15, Acts vii, 23.
The exodus, when Moses was 80.....	1580	430	vii, 7; xii, 40, 41.

Thus the exodus took place "at the end of four hundred and thirty years"—even to the very day—after God had called Abraham to go from his fathers' country into the land of Canaan. But, inasmuch as much controversy has arisen respecting the duration of the sojourn in Egypt—Bunsen extending it, as we have already seen, to 1,434 years; while his collaborateur Lepsius limits it to 90 years—it may be well to examine carefully the text which treats on this important point. The Authorized Version of Exod. xii, 40, reads as follows: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, *who dwelt in Egypt*, was 430 years." It will be seen by this that Scripture does not necessarily imply that the Israelites were either in Egypt or in servitude during the whole of that period; for it plainly teaches that though their *sojourning* lasted 430 years, it was only a portion of that time that they dwelt in Egypt, and a still more limited portion in which they were enslaved. Such appears to be the teaching of Hebrews xi, 9, where it is said, "By faith Abraham *sojourned* in the land of promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise." This is confirmed by the reading both of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX., all of which in the various MSS., as Kennicott * observes, are uniform on this matter, and read the text as follows: "Now the *sojourning* of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, when they *sojourned* in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, was 430 years." And so St. Paul, in Gal. iii, 16, 17, declares that "the promises to Abraham and his seed were confirmed by the law (given on Mount Sinai) which was 430 years *after*" they had been first made.

That the Jews of all ages so understood the text may be thus shown. Demetrius,† who flourished in the third century B.C., reckoned 215 years from the call of Abraham to the going down into Egypt; 135 years from that to the birth of Moses; and 80 years more to the exode; which sums up—215+135+80=430. Josephus, four centuries after Demetrius, expressly says, that "the children of Israel left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on

* Kennicott, "Dissert.," ii, pp. 164, 165.

† Demetrius, *apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang.*, ix, § 21.

the 15th day of the month, 430 years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but only 215 years after Jacob removed into Egypt.* Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds speak of the sojourning of the Israelites as including that "in Egypt and in *all other lands*" besides.† Aben Ezra, a learned Jew, and Joseph Goriondes, of the tenth century, interpret the passage in the following way: "The sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt *and in other lands* was 430 years. Notwithstanding they abode in Egypt only 210 years, according to what their father Jacob told them, to 'descend' or *go down* to Egypt, which in Hebrew signifies 210. Furthermore, the computation of 430 years is from the year that Isaac was born, which was the holy seed unto Abraham."‡

The testimony of the early Christian writers is to the same effect. Eusebius§ distinctly says that it is "by the unanimous consent of all interpreters" that the text should be so understood. Augustine, in his Forty-seventh Question on Exodus, as well as in his "City of God,"|| taught that the 430 years included the sojourn in Canaan as well as in Egypt. And Sulpicius Severus says: "From the entrance of Abraham into Canaan until the exode there were 430 years."¶ These interpreters of the text of Scripture appear to have well understood the force of an argument, which some in the present day have strangely overlooked, that if the 430 years are to be counted only from the time of Jacob's descent into Egypt until the exode, *the mother of Moses must have given birth to her son 262 years after her father's death*, according to the biblical computation, which is a physical impossibility. Hence Clinton wisely observes: "Some writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses, an inspired writer—in the account of his mother and father and grandfather—that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion."**

ERA OF JOSEPH.

We have already seen that the time of Abraham's visit to Egypt synchronized probably with the reign of Pharaoh Acthoes, shortly before the commencement of the twelfth dynasty, which in round numbers may be dated *circa* B.C. 2000. Consequently the time of Joseph being sold as a slave into Egypt would fall *circa* B.C. 1800, *when a Shepherd dynasty was seated on the throne*

* Josephus, "Antiquities," ii, xv, § 2.

† *T. Hierosol. Megillah*, fol. 71, 4; *T. Babyl. Meg.*, fol. 9, 1.

‡ "Historie of the Latter Tymes of the Jewes' Common Weal." By Joseph Ben Gorion. Translated by Peter Morwing, pp. 2, 3. Oxford, A.D. 1567.

§ Euseb., *Chron. Can. Lib. Prior*, § 19.

|| August., *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xvi, § 24.

¶ Sulpic. Sev., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. xxvi, § 4.

** Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i, p. 299, Appendix.

of the Pharaohs. This is seen in the fact that Brugsch-Bey, in his "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," considers that any thing like correct Egyptian chronology can only be said to commence with the rise of the celebrated eighteenth dynasty, which he dates approximately at B.C. 1700, as in his earlier work on Egypt he dates it more exactly at B.C. 1706; and inasmuch as he is perhaps the first of Egyptologists who has given his attention to this particular branch of the subject, and as it harmonizes perfectly with the Hebrew chronology deducible from Scripture, we may accept the learned writer's conclusions on this point as most right and just.

That Joseph's captivity and subsequent viceroyalty over the land of Egypt occurred during the reign of the Hycsos or Shepherd kings is apparent from various incidents recorded in Scripture. We learn there that no sooner had the Jewish captive interpreted the dream of the king of Egypt than "the thing appeared good in Pharaoh's eyes, and he said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom *the spirit of God is?*" And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt." Gen. xli, 37-41.

In order to understand this remarkable fact of a heathen king recognizing at once the God of Israel, we must consider who this king really was. As far as we can gather from the traditions of ancient times, it unquestionably was one of the Hycsos or Shepherd kings; and though recent discoveries have made it doubtful whether the current tradition was strictly correct, we have monumental proof of its general accuracy. Syncellus, a Byzantine historian of the eighth century, writes that "All are agreed that Joseph governed Egypt under Apophis, and commenced in the *seventeenth year of his reign.*" Apophis is represented in Manetho's lists to have reigned sixty-one years; and the monuments show that Apophis was contemporary with the immediate predecessor of the head of the eighteenth dynasty, "the new king which knew not Joseph." Our comparison of the synchronisms in the histories of Israel and Egypt show that the rise of this new king and the death of Joseph synchronized with each other. Now, Scripture shows that Joseph began to govern Egypt at the age of thirty, and died at one hundred and ten, leaving eighty years for his government of the country, supposing him to have been in office the whole of that period. But if his government commenced, according to the tradition, "in the seventeenth" year of Apophis' reign, the duration of which was sixty-one years, this would only leave forty-four years out of eighty for Joseph's rule under Apophis. Moreover, the discovery of the Zoan Tablet with a recognized era throws some additional light on this complicated portion of Egyptian history.

A few years ago Mariette-Bey found in the ruins of the great temple at Avaris or Tanis (the Zoan of Scripture) a *stèle* of the reign of Ramessu the Great, showing that it was put up "in the

four hundredth year of the era of Noubti." M. de Rougé, in his account of Mariette's discovery, says that "Noubti belonged incontestably to the Shepherd dynasty, and is a local form of Sutekh," one of the Hycsos kings who preceded Pharaoh Apophis. "So that," continues de Rougé, "the four hundredth year of Noubti means the same as the four hundredth year of the god Sutekh." * The year of Ramessu's reign when this tablet was set up is not stated. But assuming that it was in the early part of his reign, which extended, according to Brugsch, B.C. 1407-1341, and that 1404 was the exact year, this would give the *terminus a quo* for the era of Noubti-Sutekh as B.C. 1804, when Joseph was entering upon his government as viceroy of the king of Egypt.

But if Noubti-Sutekh was the actual Hycsos king who made Joseph his prime minister, Joseph may equally have been in office during the whole of Apophis' (the successor of Noubti) reign. It has been further proved from the monuments that the deity exclusively worshiped by the shepherds under the name of "SUTEKH" was the local god of Syria, from which country Joseph and his patron, the king of Egypt, had alike come: as it is written of Jacob: "A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous." Deut. xxvi, 5. A papyrus now in the British Museum, entitled "Sallier I.," of the time of Ramessu the Great, throws considerable light on this subject, and it shows Apophis, the Hycsos king, supreme over all the land of Egypt, and acknowledging *Sutekh*, the Syrian god, as the sole deity whom he worshiped. This important passage reads as follows: "It came to pass when the land was held by the Hycsos, Ra-skenen was ruling in the south, and Pharaoh Apophis was in his palace at Avaris. The whole land paid homage to him with their manufactures and all the precious things of the country. Pharaoh Apophis had set up Sutekh for his lord; *he worshiped no other god in the whole land.*"

This noticeable fact of the Hycsos king having been devoted to the worship of Sutekh has been confirmed by the discovery of a colossal statue at Avaris, the capital of the Hycsos sovereigns, with the following inscription, "PHARAOH APOPHIS, WORSHIPER OF THE GOD SUTEKH." Hence observes Brugsch-Bey, "The mention of this god in combination with the Shepherd king proves most clearly what is stated in the papyrus concerning Apophis having been specially devoted to the worship of this god, to the exclusion of all the other deities of the whole country." †

* *Revue Archéologique* for 1865, vol. xi, p. 169; and likewise vol. x, p. 180. In a work published at Leipzig in 1875, entitled, "The Sun and Sirius Year of the Ramesides, with the Secret of the Intercalation and the Year of Julius Caesar," the author, Herr Karl Riel, adduces evidence in great detail to prove that the four hundredth year of the era Noubti extended from B.C. 1766 to 1366, which, if correct, would do equally well with our conjecture in the text, the only difference being that Karl Riel's estimate would make it fall toward the end, in place of the beginning, of Ramessu's long reign.

† Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 79.

The well-known hieroglyphic of the god *Sutekh* represents him under the form of a nondescript quadruped animal, *with the head of an ass*. He is so represented in the time of Apophis,* and 400 years later in that of Ramessu the Great, when Sutekh had long been admitted into the Pantheon of the native Pharaohs. In the treaty of peace between Ramessu and the Hittites of Syria, under Khitasir their king, which is still to be seen on an outer wall of the grand temple of Karnac, the inscription reads, "That which is in the middle of this silver tablet and on its front side is a likeness of the god Sutekh," surrounded by an inscription to this effect, *This is the picture of the god SUTEKH, king of heaven and earth.* †

There is ample monumental proof that very shortly after the conquest of the Shepherds, Sutekh came to be regarded by the Egyptians under a very different aspect from what they did when they considered him as the deity of their enemies the Hycsos. Mariette says he will "not be surprised if fresh discoveries show that Amosis, the conqueror of the Hycsos, in his turn sacrificed to the god Sutekh." At all events it is certain that Amosis' grandson, Thothmes III., acknowledged this deity; for in a fine tablet on a wall in the Temple of Karnac, Sutekh is represented as instructing that Pharaoh in the use of the bow. And two and a half centuries later the Temple of Abou-Simbel was dedicated by Ramessu the Great to the four principal deities in the Egyptian Pantheon at that period of history, namely, Ammon, Pthah, Ra, and *Sutekh*. ‡ In the reign of Ramessu's son a monument at Thebes represents Manepthah worshiping "the god Sutekh of Avaris." Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 450, asserts that *Avaris* means philologically nothing less than "the city of the Hebrews;" and De Rougé shows from the monuments that Avaris is the same as the Tanis of the Greeks, and the Zoan of Scripture, which in Hebrew signifies "motion," and the equivalent in the old Egyptian tongue for "the place of departure," from which the Israelites went forth at the time of the Exodus. Hence we may not be far wrong if we interpret the inscription "The god Sutekh of Avaris," as bearing in its esoteric meaning the sense of "JEHOVAH, THE GOD OF THE CITY OF THE HEBREWS."

Although no monumental proof has yet been discovered in Egypt, speaking of a FAMINE of exactly seven years' duration, such as followed the seven years' plenty when Joseph became viceroy of Egypt, yet Brugsch has produced satisfactory evidence that *such a famine did occur during the reign of Pharaoh Apophis*, which affords additional confirmation to the opinion that he was in reality the patron of the Hebrew slave. Brugsch-Bey adduces very strong evidence in favor of a tomb inscription, of the time of Pharaoh Apophis, bearing on this portion of the story of the Exodus as related in Holy Writ. "We have," he says, "great

* See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Agypten*, Tafeln xv.

† Brugsch, "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii, p. 74.

‡ Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, plate xxxvii.

satisfaction in adding another very remarkable and clear confirmation of our remarks on the tradition preserved by Syncellus and received by the whole world, that *Joseph ruled the land in the reign of King Apophis*, whose age within a few years corresponds with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. Upon the grounds of an old Egyptian inscription, hitherto unknown, whose author must have been a contemporary of Joseph and his family, we hope to adduce a proof that Joseph and the Hycsos cannot henceforth be separated from one another. The inscription which appears to us so important exists in one of the tombs at El-Kab. From the style of the internal pictorial decoration of the rock chambers, but principally from the name of its owner, BABA, we consider that the tomb was erected in the times immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty. Although no royal cartouche ornaments the walls of the tomb, to give us certain information about the exact time of its erection, yet the following considerations are calculated to inform us on this point, and fortunately to fill up the gaps." Then Brugsch continues to describe the tomb of this Baba, which contains the following simple child-like representation of his happy existence on earth, owing to his great riches in point of children: "The chief of the table of princes, Baba, the risen again, he speaks thus: I loved my father, I honored my mother; my brother and my sisters loved me; I stepped out of the door of my house with a benevolent heart; I stood there with refreshing hand, and splendid were the preparations of what I collected for the feast day. Mild was my heart, free from noisy anger. The gods bestowed upon me a rich fortune on earth. The city wished me health and a life full of freshness. I punished the evil doers. My children, which stood opposite to me in the town during the days I have fulfilled, were sixty in number, small as well as great, and they had as many beds, chairs, and tables as they required. My speech may appear somewhat facetious to my enemies, but I call the god Month to witness to its truth. I collected in the harvest, a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. *And now, when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to every hungry person in the city which I ruled.*"

"The only just conclusion," adds Brugsch on this remarkable discovery, "is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the Shepherd kings." Then he continues to show how applicable the details recorded in Scripture respecting the story of Joseph are to the history of Egypt at this period, by remarking: "Joseph's Hycsos-Pharaoh reigned in Avaris or Zoan, the later Ramses-town, and held his court in the Egyptian style, but without excluding the Semitic language. His Pharaoh has proclaimed before him in Semitic language an *Abrek*, that is, 'bow the knee,' a word which is still retained in the hieroglyphic dictionary, and was adopted by the Egyptians to express their feeling of reverence at the sight of an important

person or object. He bestows on him the high dignity of a Zaphnatpaneakh, governor of the Sethroitic nome. On the Egyptian origin of the offices of an Adon and Ab, which Joseph attributes to himself before his family, I have already made all the remarks necessary. The name of his wife, Asnat, is pure Egyptian, and almost entirely confined to the old and middle empire. It is derived from the very common female name Sant, or Snat. The father of his wife, the priest of On-Heliopolis, is a pure Egyptian, whose name, Potiphera, meant in the native language Putiper'a, (or pher'a,) 'the gift of the sun.'"

Brugsch's admission that Joseph became viceroy of Egypt under one of the Hycsos kings is a sufficient reply to those Egyptologists who consider that the reading of Genesis xli, 34, in the Authorized Version, "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians," contradicts the idea. But we think that a careful examination of the context of that very passage proves that Brugsch is right. For did not Joseph, when his father and his brethren had come down to Egypt, and he was about to present them to his patron the reigning sovereign, prompt them to declare to the king that they were "shepherds" whose trade had been to feed cattle? "When Pharaoh shall call you and shall say, What is your occupation? ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Now how could Joseph have advised his brethren to give such an answer to the inquiring king, unless that he had been a Pharaoh of the Hycsos or Shepherd dynasty?

Another instance of the harmony between the histories of Israel and Egypt is to be found in the record of Joseph's death. The Book of Genesis closes with these words: "So Joseph died, being a hundred and ten years old, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt." Now it is an interesting fact that the monuments show that about this very period of history the Egyptians recognized the term of 110 years as the limit of human longevity; and, as this can be traced for several centuries back, to almost the period of Joseph's death, we may infer that the expression "the happy life of 110 years" became proverbial among the Egyptians from the very high esteem in which their greatest benefactor was held. An inscription in the British Museum from the tomb of one *Raka*, of the time of Ramessu the Great, (fourteenth century B. C.,) and another in the Munich Museum, on a statue of *Baken-Konsoro*, the high-priest of Ammon in the following century, with a third in the British Museum, carved on a black stone in hieratic characters in place of hieroglyphs, (a most unusual circumstance,) belonging to the time of Amenophis III., of the sixteenth century B. C.—all these speak alike of thankfulness for repose in the tomb "after a happy

* Brugsch, "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. i, pp. 262-265.

life of 110 years on earth." And in the select papyri of the British Museum, named *Anastasi*, 3, pl. 4, we find similar expressions which remind us of the death of the great lawgiver of the Jews, about a century and a half after the death of Joseph. "Thou approachest the fair *Amenti* [the place of repose for the dead] without growing old, without being feeble; thou completest the happy life of 110 years upon earth, thy limbs being still vigorous and strong." And so Scripture records that "Moses was a hundred and twenty years when he died; his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated."* Moreover, Mariette-Bey has shown, in his description of the tombs belonging to the first six dynasties, and therefore prior to the time of Joseph by some centuries, that the limit of human longevity was higher among the Egyptians, (as it was with the Hebrews,) in those early times, than it subsequently became in after ages. Thus in place of the later formula, "May you obtain repose in the tomb after a happy life of 110 years on earth," the earlier one ran as follows: "May you obtain repose, etc., after a happy and prolonged old age," without any number of years being specified.† ‡ From these circumstances we gather that the monuments of Egypt confirm the Scripture narrative respecting the age of Joseph at his death.

ERA OF ISRAEL'S EGYPTIAN BONDAGE.

"The age of King Apophis," says Brugsch, "corresponds within a few years with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty." This affords the most important synchronism between the histories of Israel and Egypt, not only in respect to chronology, but respecting the great change which must have ensued when Amosis, the head of the eighteenth dynasty, conquered the Hycsos, and the favored race of Israel, who were until that time dwelling "in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt," were reduced to the condition of bond slaves. We have already seen that the death of Levi, the last of Joseph's brethren, occurred, according to the Hebrew computation, confirmed by secular chronology, B.C. 1707; and that the following year, according to Brugsch's reading of Manetho, saw the conquest of the Hycsos by the chief of the eighteenth dynasty, which is thus tersely announced in the book of Exodus: "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph." Then immediately commenced the enslavement of the Israelites, occasioned by the fear of the new king that "the people of the children of Israel (might become) more and mightier than we. Therefore they did set over them task-masters to afflict them with their burdens. And the Israelites built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they afflicted them the more they grew. And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to

* Deut. xxxiv, 7.

† *Revue Archéologique*, for 1868, p. 388.

‡ Our readers will note in this shortening of human life a remarkable suggestion in regard to the still greater longevity of the antediluvian age.—Ed.

serve with rigor: and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage." Exod. i, 6-14.

One of the first tasks imposed on the afflicted children of Israel was to build two treasure cities named *Pithom* and *Raamses*. It is commonly assumed by those Egyptologists who ignore the supremacy of Scripture that as the name of one of these places was "*Raamses*," it must be accepted as proof that Ramesses, or Ramessu,* as his name is more frequently written, commonly called "the Great," must have been the "new king which knew not Joseph." But, independent of the fact that history as well as chronology are alike subversive of this theory, it goes a great deal farther than its founders contemplate, for it equally shows that the same name must have been in use nearly a century earlier, namely, at the commencement of Joseph's rule, when "he placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, *in the land of Rameses*, as Pharaoh had commanded." Gen. xlvii, 11. Moreover, since the several instances recorded in Scripture during the 126 years of bondage which remained to the children of Israel after the rise of the new king do agree very closely with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and do not in any wise accord with the history of Egypt after the accession of Ramessu the Great, there should not remain in the mind of any one who bows in reverence to the oracles of God the slightest doubt to whom belongs the shame of having reduced the inoffensive children of Israel from their quiet life in Goshen to a state of the most cruel bondage.

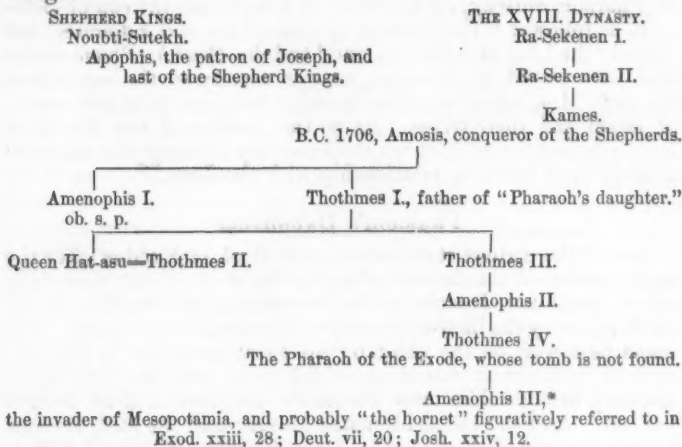
The name of "*Pithom*" has been identified by Brugsch with the *Pâ-chtoum en Zalou*, that is, "the treasure city of Thom, built by foreign captives,"† and which occurs in the annals of Pharaoh Thothmes III., grandson of Amosis, the new king which knew not Joseph; and there can be little doubt but that it was the original treasure city *Pithom*, built by the enslaved children of Israel. So as regards the other treasure city, which is variously rendered in the Authorized Version as *Raamses* or *Ramesses*; which some Egyptologists contend is a proof that it is confined to the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. But this is a mistake; Lepsius in his *Königsbuch* shows that Amosis, the conqueror of the Shepherds, and founder of the eighteenth dynasty, had a son whose name in hieroglyphs reads Ra-M SS. The *Raamses* of Exodus was written in Hebrew R H M S S, and sufficiently near in sound to the son of Amosis to warrant the conclusion that they refer to one and the same name.

We have already noticed that various incidents recorded in Scripture connected with the story of the Exodus accord with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. And in order to see at a glance the claims which they have for identifi-

* See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, Tafeln xxxii.

† Comp. Brugsch, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 129, with Brugsch, *Géograph. Inscript.*, iii, 21.

cation with the Pharaohs of the time of Moses, it may be advisable to insert a brief genealogical sketch of the order in which they stand, as gathered from the monuments and the papyri, together with Manetho's history of thirty dynasties of Egyptian kings:



It is sometimes asserted that no names resembling those of the "Hebrews," or "Jews," or "Israelites," have yet been discovered on any Egyptian monument. But this is probably incorrect. In the statistical tablet of Karnac, erected by Pharaoh Thothmes III., on which Dr. Birch has commented with his usual ability, we find among the various captives under that king the name of *Hebu*, (Brugsch, i, 364, reads the name as *Hibu*, in Abusembel called *Hibuu*) as the seventy-ninth on the list, which is sufficiently like the word *Hebrew* to make it possible that they refer to one and the same people.

So in an inscription deciphered by Brugsch, certain captives called "*the Fencâu*," of the time of Amosis, "the king which knew not Joseph," are mentioned as employed in transporting blocks of limestone from the quarries of Rufu to Memphis and other Egyptian cities. According to Brugsch, the name means "bearers of the shepherd's staff," and the occupation of these captives corresponds with the forced labor of the children of Israel during their bondage. Hence he observes, in his *Geograph-*

* Amenophis III. extended his conquests as far as Mesopotamia, and must have passed through Canaan, weakening the power of its inhabitants, at the very time the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness, thus fulfilling God's purpose, as mentioned in Josh. xxiv, 12, and other passages of Holy Writ. One of the well-known symbols of the Egyptian kings is a "hornet," just as marked a feature in their heraldry as the lion is in that of the kings of England. The writer has in his possession a large rubbing or squeeze of Amenophis III.'s name, sent him by a friend from Egypt, in which the "hornet" is very plainly represented over the cartouche of the king's name.

ische Inschriften, "with this name are designated the pastoral and nomad tribes of Semitic origin, who lived in the neighborhood of Egypt, and who are to be thought of standing to Egypt in the same relation as the Jews." In his more recent history, Brugsch speaks of the same people when describing the conquests of Pharaoh Shishak, of the time of Rheoboam, the son of Solomon, as follows: "The smitten peoples (Jews and Edomites) are named 'the 'Am of a distant land,' and the *Fenekh*, (Phœnicians.) The 'Am would, in this case, answer exactly to the equivalent Hebrew 'Am, which signifies 'people,' but especially the people of Israel and their tribes. As to the mention of the *Fenekh*, I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover the evidence of their most intimate relationship with the Jews."*

PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.

One of the earliest statements in the Book of Exodus after the enslavement of the Israelites under the rule of the new king which knew not Joseph, is the wonderful preservation of the child Moses by the instrumentality of PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER. The name bestowed on the child by his royal preserver is thus described in Exodus: "And the child grew, and she [the child's mother] brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name MOSES: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water." Hence Josephus ("Antiq.," ii, ix, 6) derives the name Moses from the Coptic for "water," and also "to deliver." And in strong confirmation of the truth of our understanding this period to apply to the eighteenth dynasty and not to the nineteenth dynasty, two centuries later, as some Egyptologists contend, this fact comes clearly out from our investigation of Egyptian history. The equivalent to the word Moses in hieroglyphs is found in the names of both the grandfather and father of "Pharaoh's daughter," both of which might be rendered according to the Greek transcript, as *Aa-moses*, *Thoth-moses*. Brugsch shows, in his "Hieroglyphic Dictionary," that the sense "drawing out" is the original one; but Birch seems to limit it to being "born" or "brought forth," and hence the signification of *Mes* or *Mesa* is "child." Canon Cook renders the speech of Pharaoh's daughter, on having adopted Moses as "her son"—"I gave him the name of Moses, 'brought forth,' because I brought him forth from the water."† And it is worthy of note that Josephus calls Pharaoh's daughter by the name of *Thur-muthis*, which is probably only another way of writing the name of her father *Thoth-moses*.

The other references in Scripture to Moses' treatment by Pharaoh's daughter, such as Acts vii, 22, and Heb. xi, 24, show that he was reared as her adopted son, with the possible succession to her throne, only that by grace he "chose rather to suffer affliction"

* Brugsch's "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii, p. 210.

† Cook's "Excursus," in vol. i, p. 484, of the "Speaker's Commentary."

tion with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt." Further, we may fairly infer that this royal princess must have been a queen regnant in her own right, as none but such could have compelled a jealous priesthood to train her adopted child "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Now it may be shown from the monuments that in the whole line of Pharaohs, extending over nigh 2,000 years, there is only one real queen regnant with whose history we are at all acquainted during that long period of time. Her name appears on the monuments in full as *Hat-asu* or *Hasheps* (as it is variously read) *Numpt-anun*, and exactly in the place we should expect to find her from the account in Exodus, she being, as appears in the above genealogical tree, the granddaughter of "the king which knew not Joseph." She reigned many years most gloriously, first in the name of her father, then conjointly with her insignificant husband, and subsequently alone, until she took into partnership with herself, probably when Moses refused any longer to be called her son, her younger half-brother,* Thothmes III., who after her death showed the meanness of revenge by erasing, wherever he could, every sign of his great sister's rule over Egypt, either in malice on account of her having offered the succession to Moses, or from some other unknown cause.

There are many existing monumental proofs of her reign, the most glorious in the annals of the female sovereigns of Egypt, like that of her present majesty, our own Queen Victoria. She erected at Thebes two obelisks in honor of her father, one of which is still standing, and fragments of the other are scattered all around. The standing one, thirty feet higher than the obelisk which now adorns the Thames embankment, and certainly the most beautiful one in the world, is formed of a single block of red granite, ninety-eight feet in length, from the far Syene, highly polished, with reliefs and hieroglyphs of matchless beauty. The inscription on the plinth states that the work was commenced in the fifteenth year of her majesty's reign, on the first day of the month Mechir, and finished on the last day of the month Mesore, making seven months from its commencement in the mountain quarry. "Her Majesty," it adds, "gave two obelisks capped with

* Any one who has seen the beautiful style of features belonging to Queen Hat-asu, as represented in Rossellini's great work, and compares it with the hideous original bust of Thothmes III., in the British Museum, with its strongly-developed negro cast of countenance, will be inclined to doubt if they could be as nearly related as half brother and sister. Sir G. Wilkinson, in describing a statue of Thothmes III., where Queen Hat-asu is called his "sister," observes that "she was probably only so by an earlier marriage of his father;" and such was the hatred borne by Thothmes against her, that, after her death, he ordered her name to be erased from her monuments and his own to be sculptured in its stead. But this was not always done with the care required to conceal the alterations; and sentences of this kind frequently occur: "King Thothmes, *she* has made this work for *her* father Amun."—Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App. ii, viii, 19. Such animosity, as shown by the unforgiving brother toward his great sister after death, can only be explained in the way we have suggested above.

gold, and so high that each pyramidal cap should reach to the heavens, that she should place them before the pylon of her father, Thothmes I., in order that her name should remain always and forever in this temple." Among other titles which the obelisk bears, such as those of "Royal Wife," "Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt," is found the significant and well-known name of "PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER."

The temple of *Der-el-bahri* is another monument due to the munificence of this great queen, under the superintendence of one Semnut, the son of Rames, the chief architect of all Egypt during her reign. And although Brugsch seems to entertain an unworthy prejudice against Queen Hat-asu, he admits that her buildings are "the most tasteful and most brilliant specimens of the matchless splendor of Egyptian art history." The walls of this temple, besides recording the expedition of her fleet to the shores of Arabia Felix, in order to collect the marvelous productions of this country—which recalls to mind the voyages of Solomon's fleet to the same country seven centuries later—such as gums, scents, incense, trees, ebony, ivory, gold, emeralds, asses, etc., etc., give the details of a campaign against the Ethiopians in the Arabian peninsula. They represent the Egyptian commander-in-chief of Queen Hat-asu's army receiving the enemy's general, who presents himself as a suppliant before him, accompanied by his wife and daughter. And it is not impossible that the Egyptian queen's general may refer to her adopted son, *Moses*; as Scripture tells us that he became "mighty in words and in deeds" in Egypt; and Josephus and Irenæus alike relate "the fame which Moses gained as general of the Egyptian army in a war with Ethiopia,"* which, though somewhat incumbered with romance, still helps to explain a statement in the book of Numbers that Moses married a woman of that country.†

The most satisfactory proof, however, of the existence of the enslaved Israelites in Egypt at this period of history is found in the well-known picture of the brick-makers at the village of Gournou, near Thebes, at which place there is to be seen the remains, now fast crumbling away, of a magnificent tomb belonging to an Egyptian nobleman, named *Rekhmara*. He appears to have been overseer of all the public buildings in Egypt during the reign of Thothmes III. The paintings on this tomb, which are admirably delineated in Lepsius' grand work on Egypt,‡ not only afford evidence of the Israelites being in Egypt at the time Moses was compelled to flee to Midian, but of their having been forcibly engaged in the occupation of brick-making. There are several inscriptions on this monument, some of which read as follows:

* Josephus, "Antiq.," ii, x, § 2; Irenæus, *Frag. de Perdid Iren. Tract.*, p. 347.

† Num. xii, 1. Three different explanations have been given of this text respecting the wife of Moses. 1. A real inhabitant of Ethiopia, or a Cushite, that is, an Arabian, (see Bryant's "Analysis," vi, 122.) 2. The Ethiopian princess mentioned by Josephus. 3. Zipporah herself; which last opinion is possible from the juxtaposition of Cush with Midian in Hab. iii, 7.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkmäler Aeth.*, iii, pl. 40.

The center inscription reads—

"Captives brought by Pharaoh, (Thothmes III.,)
In order to carry on the works at the Temple of Amun."

On the left the inscription reads—

"Molding bricks for making a treasure city in Thebes."

On the right—

"The chief task-master says to the builders, 'Work hard—
The stick is in my hands. Be not idle. Let there be no giving in.'"

On these inscriptions Brugsch observes: "The picture and the words present an important illustration of the accounts in the Bible concerning the hard bondage of the Jews in Egypt." And in reply to a criticism which has been made against so treating the illustration, because the captive Israelites were not likely to have been removed so far from the place of their original bondage, we may point out that the inscription pointedly says that the captives, some of whom bear the unmistakable features of the Hebrew race, had been "brought" from some place for this special service; and also the Book of Exodus states that "the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw."

ERA OF THE EXODUS.

Of the Pharaoh of the Exode the inscriptions give but little information, though sufficient to confirm our belief that it was the grandson and namesake of Thothmes III. to whom we must ascribe that great disgrace. It appears that his reign was short and inglorious, which agrees with what Scripture records of this infatuated king. A tablet between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Ghizeh is one of the few remaining monuments of his reign, besides the obelisk at Rome, standing opposite the Church of St. John Lateran, which bears the names of no less than three Pharaohs, with an interval of more than two centuries between them. It was commenced by Thotmes III., continued by Thothmes IV., and completed by Ramessu the Great. Another inscription of this reign on a granite rock opposite the island of Phile has this singular circumstance connected with it. After the usual boasting titles, it stops suddenly short with the dejective particle "*then*," evidently pointing to defeat and disaster, which were certainly the characteristics of this Pharaoh's reign.* And the inference that he was the Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea appears to be confirmed by the fact that, after all the careful researches of modern explorers, *no trace of this king's tomb* has been found in the royal burial-place near Thebes, where the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty lie; while the tomb of his immediate successor, Amenophis III., has been discovered in a valley adjoining the cemetery of the other kings.†

* Osburn's "Monumental History of Egypt," ii, p. 318.

† Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "Thebes," pp. 122, 123.

This may be explained by the fact that the Pharaoh of the Exode was drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, as Moses in the story of the Exodus seems to imply, and as David in the Psalms positively declares, by his song of praise, "O give thanks to the Lord of lords: for his mercy endureth forever. To him that smote Egypt in their first-born: . . . and brought out Israel from among them . . . with a strong hand. . . . To him which divided the Red Sea into parts, . . . and made Israel to pass through the midst of it, . . . but overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea: for his mercy endureth forever." Psalm cxxxvi, 3-15.

Wilkinson and others have considered that the Mosaic record does not state as positively as it might the fact of Pharaoh himself having been drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, but that he continued on the throne for some time after the great catastrophe had taken place, as Sennacherib, king of Assyria, did some centuries later. If this be the correct interpretation of the Scripture account, it may serve to explain the tradition which Eusebius gives in the "Armenian Chronicle,"* from Manetho's "History of Egypt," namely, that this Pharaoh, Thothmes IV., whom he calls *Armais*, after he had reigned four years in Egypt, was expelled from the country in the fifth year of his reign, by his younger brother *Danaus*, when he fled to Greece, where he founded the city of Argos. Other authorities call this fugitive king of Egypt *Cecrops*; as Augustine positively asserts that "in the reign of *Cecrops*, king of Athens, God brought his people out of Egypt by Moses."† Accepting this as one of the many floating traditions connected with the story of the Exodus, it receives a singular confirmation in the matter of chronology from an unexpected source. We have already seen that according to the Hebrew computation the date of the Exode may be fairly placed at B.C. 1580. Now the "Parian Chronicle" at Oxford, a witness of the most unexceptionable character, inasmuch as it was drawn up as early as B.C. 264, commences with this announcement: "Since *Cecrops* reigned at Athens, and the country was called Actica, from Actous, the native, 1,318 years have elapsed."‡ Now $1,318 + 264 = 1,582$, that is, within two years of the biblical computation for the date of the Exodus.

In confirmation that this Exodus date harmonizes better than any other system, besides what has already been gathered from Brugsch's reading of Manetho, we might adduce the testimony of the Apis Cycle, which has been so finely illustrated by Mariette-Bey,§ whose discovery of sixty-four mummies of the Apis Bulls, from the time of Amenophis III., the successor of Thothmes IV., in the sixteenth century B.C., to the time of the Roman Conquest, B.C. 30, sufficiently accords with our computed date of

* Eusebius, "Chron. Canon," liber prior, cap. xx.

† Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii, § 8.

‡ *Marmora Arundelliana*, Seidon's edition, London, 1628, pp. 1 and 6.

§ *Le Sérapéum de Memphis Découvert et Décrit*, par M. Mariette, Paris, 1863.

the Exode to warrant our acceptance of the Apis Cycle—a well-known period of twenty-five years—as a confirmation of its truth.

Assuming, then, the identification of Thothmes IV. with the Pharaoh of the Exode, it is not quite certain that his successor Amenophis III., the Vocal Memnon on the plain of Thebes, either succeeded his reputed father immediately on his death, or was, indeed his son, as he pretended to be. The history of that period is singularly confused and perplexing at that very point, which is best explained by the disturbed state of the kingdom, which naturally followed the overthrow of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. Sir Gardner Wilkinson says that "Amenophis III. calls himself 'the son of Thothmes IV., the son of Amenophis II.:' there is reason to believe that he was not of pure Egyptian race. His features differ very much from those of other Pharaohs, and the respect paid to him by some of the 'Stranger Kings,' one of whom treats him as a god, seems to confirm this, and to argue that he was partly of the same race as those kings who afterward usurped the throne, and made their rule and name so odious to the Egyptians."* If this surmise be correct, it is noteworthy to see how far it agrees with the biblical statement that the eldest son of the Pharaoh of the Exode did not succeed his father on the throne, as it is written, "At midnight Jehovah smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, *from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon.*" Exod. xii, 29.

The testimony of Manetho concerning this period of Egyptian history is, to a considerable extent, in harmony with the biblical story of the Exodus, though he mingles his account of that event with the expulsion of the Shepherds, for he mentions the leader of the Israelites by name, as well as the country to which they went. He says that "the Shepherds were subdued by Amosis, and driven out of Egypt, and shut up in a place called *Avaris*, with 480,000 men; and that, in despair of success, he compounded with them to quit Egypt, on which they departed, in number 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness to Syria, where they built a city, and named it *Jerusalem*, in a country now called *Judea*. It was also reported that the priest who ordained their government and their laws was by birth of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed and he was called *Moses*."† Considering that Moses was reared at the court of Pharaoh, one of whose capitals was at Heliopolis, we see in this Egyptian tradition, which was current when Manetho wrote, about thirteen centuries later, an undesigned testimony to the truth of the story of the Exodus as recorded in Holy Writ.

* Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App., book ii, c. viii, § 21. See also Dr Birch's paper in "Archæological Journal," No. 32, of Dec., 1851, in confirmation of the opinion that Amenophis had an elder twin brother, and that he succeeded his father when very young, and was for many years under his mother's tutelage.

† Manetho apud Joseph., *Centr. Apion*, i, §§ 14, 16.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1880. (Andover.)—1. Do the Scriptures Prohibit the Use of Alcoholic Beverages? by Rev. A. B. Rich, D.D. 2. The Sabbath: the Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; by Rev. William De Loss Love, D.D. 3. Church Parties as Apologists; by Rev. Francis Wharton, D.D., LL.D. 4. The Data of Ethics; by D. McGregor Means. 5. The New Testament Vocabulary; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin. 6. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages; by Rev. J. F. McCurdy, Ph.D. 7. Theological Education.

NEW ENGLANDER, September, 1880. (New Haven.)—1. Historical Position of Modern Missions; by Rev. N. G. Clark. 2. Professor Nordenskiöld as an Arctic Explorer; by Rev. S. J. Douglass. 3. Bryant; by Rev. John L. T. Phillips. 4. The Avesta and the Storm-Myth; by Dr. J. Luquiens. 5. Relation of Evolution to Christianity and Rational Truth; by Rev. L. Curtis. 6. Forcing Truths and Duties into Antagonism; by Rev. F. A. Noble. 7. Do we Need an Ethical Revival? by Rev. Henry M. Goodwin.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, July, 1880. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketch of Joel Munsell; by George R. Howell, Esq. 2. Munsell Genealogy; by Frank Munsell. 3. Records of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. (Concluded.) 4. Gray and Coytmore; by William S. Appleton, A.M. 5. Bristol Church Records, 1710 to 1728. 6. Longmeadow Families. 7. Petition of William Horsham, 1684. 8. Taxes under Gov. Andros. 9. Marriage Certificate of John Tucker, 1688. 10. The Cumberland Cruiser. 11. Capt. Hugh Mason's Gravestones. 12. The Edgerly Family. 13. The Great Boston Fire of 1760. 14. Hallowell, Me., and its Library. 15. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury. 16. Churchhill Genealogy. 17. Petition of the Friends or Quakers to the French National Assembly, 1791. 18. Schools in the Last Century. 19. Record of the Rev. John Cotton, 1691 to 1710. 20. Indenture of Apprenticeship, 1747.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Ruins of Central America. Part I. By Désiré Charnay. 2. The Perpetuity of Chinese Institutions; by S. Wells Williams. 3. The Trial of Mrs. Surratt; by John W. Clappitt. 4. The Personality of God; by Prof. W. T. Harris. 5. Steamboat Disasters; by R. B. Forbes. 6. Insincerity in the Pulpit; by Rev. E. E. Hale. 7. Recent Works on the Brain and Nerves; by Dr. George M. Beard.

PRINCETON REVIEW, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. Physical Habits as Related to the Will; by Prof. Henry Calderwood, LL.D. 2. Late American Statesmen; by Francis Wharton, LL.D. 3. Popular Education as a Safeguard for Popular Suffrage; by President Robert L. Dabney, D.D., LL.D. 4. Poetic Style; by Principal Shairp, D.C.L. 5. Organization of Labor; by Simon Newcomb, LL.D. 6. Symbolic Logic; Prof. John Venn. Herbert Spencer's Theory of Sociology: A Critical Essay; by President Porter, D.D., LL.D.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, October, 1880. 1. Of the Authority of General Councils. 2. Foreign Missions—Progress, Characteristics, Needs. 3. Southern Methodism and Colored Missions. 4. Studies in Shakspeare. 5. Evolution. 6. Christian Ethics *versus* Agnosticism. 7. Bishop Marvin. 8. Sunday-school Centenary Celebration.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Character of Sanctity in the Catholic Church; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J. 2. Physiology and Modern Materialism; by C. M. O'Leary, M.D., Ph.D. 3. Positions of the Intellectual World as regards Religion; by A. de G. 4. Notes on Spain. Part II; by St. George Mivart, F.R.S., F.Z.S., Sec'y L.S. 5. The Con-

fict of Christianity with Heathenism; by Right Rev. John J. Keene, D.D. 6. A Pioneer of the West—Rev. Charles Nerinckx; by John Gilmory Shea, LL.D. 7. Aubrey de Vere's Poems; by M. F. S. 8. The Recent Ministerial Change in England; by J. D. S. 9. Suicide, Considered in its Moral Bearings; by James A. Cain. 10. Some of the Uses of the Microscope in Science; by D. J. MacGoldrick, S.S.

In a justly severe notice of Dr. Lindsay's absurd book entitled, "Mind in the Lower Animals," the "Catholic Quarterly" furnishes some valuable contributions to our knowledge of the true character and susceptibility to education of the Australians. Dr. Winchell rates them as lowest in grade and first in time of the human race. It is very important to know then how low the lowest is:

Catholic missionaries are even now engaged in converting and civilizing the "black fellows of Western Australia" with marked success, and these people, so long looked upon as the extreme of hopeless degradation, show an astonishing intelligence, aptness, and industry. A perusal of the simple account of the mission of New Norcia, near Perth, in Western Australia, which was published in the "Messenger of the Sacred Heart" during the whole of the year 1879, must be sufficient, in any candid mind, to justify to the utmost that confidence of the "worthy people," at whom Dr. Lindsay sneers, in a "potentiality" for culture and civilization existing even in the lowest savages. It gives a direct contradiction of *facts*, be it remembered, to every one of the reckless assertions we have quoted above. For instance, with regard to their intelligence and capacity for improvement, Mgr. Salvado, Bishop and Superior of the mission, writes: "One day, while I was teaching some little natives to read, one of them learned in ten minutes forty letters of the alphabet, large and small. I believe that few scholars of the same age in Europe would do the same. Another mastered in a few weeks the four rules of arithmetic. A third, seeing a captain of the navy taking the meridian with a sextant, watched him closely, and then, taking up the instrument, repeated the operation with perfect exactness." Nor are these isolated cases. "Mr. Thomas, the present official in charge of the aborigines in the district of Victoria, (South Australia,) who has carefully studied the subject, says that the children easily learn to read and write, that they readily commit to memory some lines of poetry or short songs, that they are very fond of oral lessons in geography, and perfectly understand the use of maps. A young native took, two years in succession, the prize for geography in the normal school at Sydney." A still more decisive instance is the following: "A young Australian woman, who with her father and mother had ranged the woods in the most degraded state of barbarism, was a few years ago received at the mission. She was instructed, baptized, and; because she showed more than ordinary talent, educated with special care, and

finally advantageously married. She now superintends the post-office and telegraph station of our department. The government of the English colony gives her, besides lodgings, seven hundred and fifty francs a year. All the Protestant journals in Australia have recorded the appointment, and passed the highest encomiums on the mission where Ellen Cuper—that is the name of the young woman—received her education.” The above account is confirmed by an official dispatch from the governor of West Australia to the Earl of Carnarvon, Minister of the Colonies :

“No. 9. WEST AUSTRALIA, GOVERNOR’S HOUSE, PERTH, *January 20, 1876.*

“MY LORD: It will probably interest you to know that the present director of the post-office and telegraph station is a native woman, who a few years ago was brought to the Roman Bishop Salvado. She performs the duty to the complete satisfaction of the postmaster-general. We have, moreover, a more recent example of the happy influence exercised on the natives of West Australia by this bishop. . . . A few weeks before my arrival Ellen Cuper, the postmistress mentioned above, was obliged on account of ill-health to absent herself for a short time from New Norcia, and I began to look about for some one to supply her place. The bishop at once informed the postmaster-general that he had at his house a young native girl, named Sarah Cann, quite intelligent, and able after a few lessons to take care of the telegraph station. I willingly agreed to give her a trial. During my visit to the mission I found her at the office. She was already quite at home in her new position. On my return to Perth I sent her my congratulations by telegraph, and she at once returned thanks in the most courteous terms. . . . I have the honor to subscribe myself, your lordship’s very devoted servant,

WILLIAM ROBINSON, Esq., *Governor of Perth.*

Even in the freedom of their native forests the Australian blacks are by no means the senseless beings, lower than the brutes, nor even the children, that Dr. Lindsay would fain have us believe them. The testimony of Sir Thomas Mitchell on this point leaves no doubt on the question: “The frequent intercourse I had with the inhabitants enables me to speak with full knowledge. I must say that the individuals we come across in the cities are unfair specimens of the race. Those we meet in the forests and immense solitudes of the interior are handsome in appearance and lead a free and happy life. The first one I saw was tall and well-proportioned. His grave demeanor and penetrating look inspired respect. Two white-bearded old men were seated near him before a fire. One of them was most dignified, almost diplomatic, in bearing. He was so observant of decorum that when one of the children spoke a word while I was asking for directions, he admonished him with a slight tap of his long lance. . . . The man who consented to be our guide was smaller and less robust than the others, but he was full of resolution and courage, while his acuteness and rare judgment made him so useful that I always kept him by my side. . . . He spoke little, and always in maxims, which made his sayings easily remembered. This Australian rendered us great services. . . . I should add that his countrymen are not at all so void of intelligence as is generally given out. To me, who saw them in their natural condition, they seemed *at least equal, in this respect, to the peasants of England.*

They are even in advance of these in a certain politeness and reserve of manner and language that makes a very favorable impression."—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, by Thomas Mitchell, Esq., quoted in the *Messenger*.

With regard to their asserted ignorance of the very idea of a God, we think the following passage from the published narrative so important, and the remarks made thereon so judicious, as to deserve quotation in full, despite its length: "It is exceedingly difficult," says Bishop Salvado, 'to ascertain with accuracy the religious notions of the Australian savage.' And yet we hear certain tourists speak of them as matters well known to all. These travelers, without knowing any thing whatever of the language of the natives, spend a few days, nay, perhaps only a few hours, among them, and then come home and tell us that they are perfectly conversant with the manners, customs, and religious ideas of savages who, either through a spirit of mischief or reserve, have always been most reticent with strangers on these points. I am well aware how these truthful travelers pursue their quest for unpublished notes upon the Australian race. We may imagine one waiting for his prey. Along comes a poor native. Our knowledge-seeker pounces upon him. 'Have you a soul?' he asks. The child of the woods is disgusted and shakes his head, as if to say, 'I don't understand your jargon.' Our friend, the tourist, is delighted. He has made a discovery, and down goes the following note in his memorandum book: 'The Australians do not believe they have souls.' You see the thing from beginning to end is simply a mystification. As soon as he returns home his notes, with interesting illustrations, are given to the public, and, sad to say, by such truthful writers as our friend are the majority taught. Bishop Salvado, moreover, adds that the Australians, who are easily inclined to joke, often amuse themselves at the expense of the innocent traveler. One of them being asked the Australian word for water, replied *cona*, which in their language meant *excrement*. At another time they gave the generic name of the subject instead of its own specific one." Dr. Lindsay, by the way, asserts that "the language of the Australian blacks contains no word 'to express a general idea' or abstraction. It has no word, for instance, for the notion 'tree.'"

"But from Bishop Salvado they concealed nothing. . . . They believe in a being all powerful, who created heaven and earth, whom they call *Motogon*. This *Motogon* is a man of very great strength and wisdom, a native of the country, and has the same dusky complexion as they have. When creating heaven and earth, and the waters, and plants, and trees, and kangaroos, he breathed and said, 'Heaven and earth, and waters, and plants, and trees, and kangaroos, come forth;' and they came forth and were created. It is interesting to notice the close similarity between the formula of creation, this breathing, and the words of Holy Scripture, 'Let there be light, and there was light,' as the book of Genesis says in describing the creation. The Australians

also believe in an evil spirit, whom they call *Cienga*. It is he who excites the fury of tempests; he causes the destructive equinoctial rains; he whitens their children with leprosy and kills them. Thus the savages believe in two principles, the one good the other bad. But, strange as it may appear, *Cienga* is as much worshiped as *Motogon*. 'I have seen them,' writes the missionary, 'in times of dreadful storms curse *Cienga* as the author of them, then run and put themselves under the shelter of their great eucalyptus trees; but when, despite their cloaks of kangaroo skin, they get drenched by the deluging rain, they become furious and stamp the ground with rage, forgetful of *Motogon* and *Cienga*.'

We have said enough to show the gross inaccuracy of the idea of the Australians which is given by "Mind in the Lower Animals." The same, did time and space allow, could probably be done with regard to many other races of whom he gives a no more favorable character. We cannot, however, leave this interesting subject without quoting the following passage from the latest works of an eminent French anthropologist, M. de Quatrefages, relating to the community of wives, asserted by our author of the Australians: "We ought, perhaps, to refer to the idea of property, the manner in which adultery is regarded by some peoples. . . . Nevertheless, even among the most savage tribes, a more elevated feeling, and one which is connected with moral or social ideas, as we ourselves understand them, may be proved often in the clearest manner. The gravity of the punishment incurred by the culprit scarcely permits a doubt that it is so. The Australian, uncorrupted by the vicinity of the white and brandy, never forgives one who has destroyed the purity of his wife, and kills him on the first occasion."—Pp. 561-563.

The reader should particularly note the line where an Englishman places the Australian on a level with English peasants.

On all this we query: Is Dr. Winchell after all right in placing the Australians at the bottom of the human race, and so at its historical beginning? May not the Samoieds of the Arctic be really as low or lower, and therefore the true originals of humanity? If both lie at the bottom, why may there not be two original races? May not man then be both a tropical and "an arctic animal?" Or if the Samoied is to be held a degenerate variety, why not the Australian? Why not both a degeneration from an Edenic center?

The true conclusion seems to be that the human race is *one*; and that, surveyed as a whole, it rounds in upon itself exclusively, girt round with a chasm separating it from all other living races. The highest can pass to the lowest, the lowest to the

highest, in the due conditions. Says Mivart: "Sir John Lubbock quotes with approval from Mr. Sproat the opinion that the difference between the savage and the cultivated mind is merely between the more or less aroused condition of the one and the same mind. The quotation is made in reference to the Ahts of North-western America: 'The native mind, to an educated man, seems generally to be asleep; and, if you suddenly ask a novel question, you have to repeat it while the mind of the savage is awaking, and to speak with emphasis until he has quite got your meaning.'" And Darwin says: "The Fuegians rank among the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how closely the three natives on board his majesty's ship 'Beagle' who had lived some years in England and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition and in most of our mental qualities." And again: "The American aborigines, negroes, and Europeans differ as much from each other in mind as any three races that can be named; yet I was incessantly struck, while living with the Fuegians on board the 'Beagle,' with the many little traits of character, showing how similar their minds were to ours; and so it was with a full-blooded negro with whom I happened once to be intimate."

THE CATHOLIC WORLD for June has an admirable article on THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH, containing a very clear view of its origin, history, and prospects, written with candor from the Roman stand-point, and for that reason exhibiting the various phases of the subject. We take the liberty of presenting most of the article before our readers:

In the autumn of the year 1873 a gathering of Evangelical Christians of all lands and all denominations was held in the city of New York, under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance. During the sitting of this conference the present Dean of Canterbury (Dr. R. Payne Smith) and Bishop Cummins, an assistant bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky, partook of the Lord's Supper in a Presbyterian meeting-house—an act which gave great offense to many English and American Episcopalians of the High-Church and ritualistic schools of thought. The authorities of the new sect inform us that the tempest raised proved to Bishop Cummins that all hope of true catholicity in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America was at an end, so he thought it necessary to resign his office. In his letter of resignation, dated November 10, 1873, Bishop Cummins gave three reasons for his

withdrawal: 1st, the progress of ritualism, which he was powerless to stop; 2d, the conviction that the root of the evil was in the prayer book; 3d, the anti-Christian outcry against the united communion. He concluded his letter in the following words: "I therefore leave the Church in which I have labored in the sacred ministry for twenty-eight years, and transfer my work and office to another sphere of labor. I have an earnest hope and confidence that a basis for the union of all Evangelical Christendom can be found in a communion which shall retain or restore a primitive episcopacy and a pure scriptural liturgy."

Immediately after his secession he proceeded to organize the new communion which he had called into existence; a bishop was consecrated in the person of Dr. Cheney, and a new prayer book was adopted, from which all passages supposed to have a Puseyite tendency were eliminated, something after the mode of that which Lord Ebury and the Prayer Book Revision Society have endeavored to introduce into England. Meanwhile the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, from which he had seceded, held a meeting and agreed that he should be formally deposed. By their canon law, however, they discovered they could do nothing in the matter for six months. The Reformed Episcopal Church was, therefore, well started before the bishops of the other Church had time to degrade their seceding brother—a fact which gave great force to the movement.

It remains to be seen whether it is likely to continue to increase, but there can be no doubt that it has hitherto made great progress. We find from the official report (1879) that it extends from British Columbia and the remote Bermudas to England, that it has five bishops, nearly a hundred clergy, and numbers its communicants by thousands, and that it already possesses a university nobly endowed. It is stated that in England within the last three months the missionary chaplain has inaugurated four Churches, and that its clergy are at work in nine dioceses.

A schism already appears to have broken out in its ranks, for in some announcements we are told that Bishop Sugden is the presiding bishop in England, and in others that Bishop Gregg is the primate. Various recriminating letters have also passed between the contending parties, who apparently are opposed to one another more on the question of jurisdiction than that of doctrine. Attention was drawn to the whole movement in the year 1878 by the charges of two Anglican bishops, (Chichester and St. Albans,) who in pompous language declared that intruders, under the guise of Anglican bishops and clergy, had appeared in their dioceses and performed services that could scarcely be distinguished from those of the Established Church of the country. The appointment and consecration of a bishop in the person of Dr. Toke, who had formally seceded from the Anglican communion after the Bennet judgment, gave rise to much criticism, especially from the fact that his consecrator, Bishop Gregg, had been formerly vicar of a well-known Church

near Birmingham and a distinguished member of the Evangelical party. This proceeding drew down strong denunciations from the Bishop of St. Albans, who solemnly warned the laity of his diocese of the snare that was laid for them. Bishop Toke had been, till within a few months of his consecration, rector of Knossington, a village near Oakham, in the Midland District, and was a member of the committee for the Old Testament revision. Both the Bishops of Chichester and St. Albans, in attacking this new sect, assumed the Catholic argument—*i. e.*, they entered a protest against any one intruding into the diocese of a lawful bishop as *ipso facto* committing an act of schism, and in high-flown language warned the people against the want of jurisdiction on the part of the new sect. The Bishop of St. Albans went further, for he assumed the complete invalidity of Dr. Gregg's orders, and denied that he had any right to officiate at all. The correspondence is amusing. Dr. Gregg writes thus:

"MY LORD: In your charge delivered on Tuesday you not only questioned the validity of my consecration as derived from a deposed bishop of the American Episcopal Church, but you failed to state the real reason for the formation of the Reformed Episcopal Church in this country—*viz.*, the extreme sacerdotalism which almost every-where prevails and will ruin the Church of England. The bishop through whom the historical succession reached me had his consecration directly through the Anglican communion, and had not been deposed when the succession was transmitted through him to the three bishops by whom I was validly and canonically consecrated. . . . That there is a real cause for the existence of the Reformed Episcopal Church in this country is witnessed by the fact that in the diocese of St. Albans alone we have hundreds, if not thousands, of active sympathizers, and those not entirely confined to the laity. The cries which reach me from oppressed churchmen in many places for an evangelical ministry are indeed distressing, and convince me, much as we all love the dear old Church of England, that when she ceases to be Protestant she must cease to exist. I am, my Lord, etc.;

"HUSBAND GREGG, D.D., M.D., *Bishop.*"

In reply the Bishop of St. Albans wrote as follows:

"REV. SIR: You assert that the bishop through whom the historical succession reached you had his consecration directly through the Anglican communion, and had not been deposed when the succession was transmitted. I presume that the bishop to whom you refer was Dr. Cummins. My statement was that this bishop, though not yet formally deposed, lay under prohibition from performing any episcopal act, which prohibition was publicly notified December 1, 1873, just a fortnight before he proceeded to consecrate that bishop through whom, as you say, you derived the historical succession. I have authority to state

that none of the American bishops have ever recognized as valid the act of pretended consecration performed by Dr. Cummins, or any act growing out of it. I am, etc., "T. L., St. Albans."

It is curious that the Bishop of St Albans should fail to see that according to his line of argument the Reformation of the sixteenth century was wrong. If it is wrong now (assuming, of course, that the present Protestant prelates were real bishops) for Dr. Gregg to start a new Church in England because he considers that the existing one has fallen into grievous error, it must have been equally wrong for Henry VIII. or Dr. Cranmer to have done so; and yet the Bishops of Chichester and St. Albans cannot justify their position without admitting that their ancestors attacked the existing Church of their day. Again, if it is wrong for Bishop Gregg to intrude into their dioceses, on what grounds do they justify the conduct of the body to which they belong in France, Germany, Italy, and over the Continent of Europe? If they declare that the invalidity of Bishop Gregg's orders is sufficient to prevent their regarding him as a bishop, on what grounds can they object to Catholics for using a similar line of argument against themselves? In the debate on this subject by the bishops assembled in convocation, as reported in the *Guardian* of May 5, 1878, one of that body informed his brethren that Rome invariably ignored all Churches but herself, and that, though Anglicans might object to her line of conduct in partitioning England into dioceses and ignoring the Establishment, she only acted according to precedent, but that such was not the case with any other episcopal communion. Some of the bishops not only objected to the action of the Reformed Episcopal communion, but even ignored the validity of the orders of its clergy. Others, like the Bishop of Winchester, admitted that there was episcopal ordination. The majority, while they repudiated the new sect, were of opinion that the excesses of the Ritualistic party had brought it into life, and that as long as Ritualism prevailed, so long would the Reformed Episcopal Church continue to develop and increase.

It is an acknowledged fact that a great change has, within the last forty or fifty years, come over the Established Church in England, and that extreme forms of ritualism have been practiced by a large body of clergy which are offensive to many. It is, therefore, not surprising that a Church professing to be a "Reformed Church of England" should by such persons have been deemed necessary. Low-Churchmen do not realize the guilt of schism as High-Churchmen do, nor do they hold the same notions as regards the apostolical succession. They prefer bishops to presbyters, as being more respectable and more convenient, but attach small importance as to the manner by which the bishops originally obtained their orders of jurisdiction. It is probable, therefore, that if Ritualism should continue to increase there will be a large accession to the new sect from the ranks of

the Evangelicals. It is curious to observe the importance that is attached to the question of the validity of orders by Bishop Gregg. He is careful to point out that his consecration was lawfully and canonically derived from the same source as the existing prelates of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and that he is, therefore, a valid bishop, even in the eyes of the High-Church party.

"Our Church Record," the official organ of this sect, published monthly, thus writes in the October number for 1879: "Our Church has already ruffled the Anglican episcopal bench, it has disturbed the drowsiness of Convocation; it has fluttered the Church papers, and by God's blessing it will yet before long awaken echoes in the representative chamber at Westminster." . . . "Our Church is not intended to be either a proselytizing trap nor a cave of Adullam." . . . "The final result of the solemn meeting of Anglican prelates held in 1878, at Lambeth, with reference to the Reformed Episcopal Church, is that their lordships, having considered the subject of sufficient importance, thought it necessary to obtain special legal counsel in the matter. Their lordships were solemnly advised as to the need of grave caution, as otherwise they might become involved in serious ecclesiastical and legal difficulties, inasmuch as the orders of Bishop Gregg and Bishop Toke are most unquestionably as valid as those of their lordships. The legal advisers even went so far as to state to the Archbishop of Canterbury: '*The orders conferred by Bishops Gregg and Toke are as undoubtedly valid as any conferred by your grace.*' The result is of the utmost ecclesiastical importance, and fully accounts for the grave and fraternal silence recently so strictly observed by our bishops' episcopal brethren in the Establishment, and which has proved so enigmatical to the public in general, and the Church public in particular."

The heads of this sect declare that they have separated from the Church of England for exactly the same reasons that the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome—viz., the growth and rapid spread of Romish errors and practices. What the Church of England did at the Reformation, that, they say, the Reformed Episcopal Church has now done. Article XII of its *Constitution* states that, except where otherwise canonically specified, or where contrary to Evangelical and Protestant principles, this Reformed Church conforms to the laws and customs of the Church of England, and is thus not a new but an old Church. It has undoubtedly found a lodgment both in England and America, and is fast gaining adherents. It adheres to episcopacy but not prelacy, (whatever this may mean;) it accepts the Anglican Prayer Book, minus all passages that it considers sacerdotal; it repudiates any doctrine approaching to a belief in the Real Presence, and is entirely opposed to confession, priestly authority, and regeneration in baptism. It asserts that the Anglican Church has lapsed into something closely allied to popery,

and that Evangelicals have no remedy but a series of expensive and tedious lawsuits, which seldom produce results that are considered satisfactory. It professes not to desire to depart from the old historic line, and rejoices that its bishops and clergy can trace their descent from the see of Canterbury: but cherishes a fraternal spirit to men of other denominations, and permits its clergy to exchange pulpits with ministers of other persuasions. It professes to hold itself aloof from Anglicanism solely on the grounds of ritualism, and that, were the sacerdotalists expelled from the ranks, its members would gladly return to the Church of England; but that on the contrary, should the sacerdotalists gain the day, it hopes to be a house of refuge and a rallying-point for the promotion of a Church of England truly and entirely evangelical, which shall go forth "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible to the systems which oppose God's word as an army with banners." It seem certain that so long as a large body of the Anglican clergy persist in imitating the ceremonies of the Mass, whether of Roman or Sarum rite, hear confessions, and adorn their churches to such an extent that it is hard for an outsider to know whether it is a Catholic place of worship or not, so long will the members of this new sect have an argument to justify their conduct and the sympathy of a large number of Protestants. Bishop Gregg, in a charge delivered July, 1, 1879, uses the following remarkable language: "Why do we as a Church exist? The need for our existence arises from the spread of the doctrines and practices of Rome in the Established Church of this land. Under various terms—Catholic revival, etc.—we find a wide-spread effort to assimilate the doctrines and services of the Church of England to those of Rome. . . . Church restoration has come to be regarded in many cases as a restoration of Romanism. . . . Our mission is to complete the work of the Reformation. . . . We are one with the Church of England in all points in which the Church of England is one with the word of God. . . . We are tired of modern superstitions and mediæval absurdities. . . . Our mission is to give back to England, to her dominions and dependencies and colonies, the Church of England as she used to be. . . . We have no priests save the Lord Jesus Christ and all his spiritual people, no altar save Calvary, no atoning sacrifice save the Lamb of God, no real pleasure save that of Christ in the heart. . . . We love the old paths, and say that the old wine is better than the new."

The Anglican prelates who resent the intrusion of the Reformed bishops in England fail to see that, according to their own argument, they should discourage all attempts at proselytism on the Continent, and that it is grossly inconsistent for them to patronize elsewhere what they repudiate in Great Britain. With marvelous inconsistency they attack a man like Bishop Gregg for subverting apostolic order and decency in England, while they encourage M. Loyson and Bishop Reinkens for doing precisely the same thing in France and Germany.

In "Tait's Magazine," for January, 1851, written at the time of the so-called Papal Aggression, the following passage occurs, which, with reference to this new Reformed Episcopal Church, seems almost prophetic: "The Queen's prerogative, we had always simply imagined, was to appoint archbishops and bishops of the Established Church. Is it now meant that she has the prerogative of appointing the prelates of other Churches too? No. If the *Times* and its multitudinous followers are to be taken as exponents, it means *there shall be no other bishops in England*. Now look where this leads. Quoth the *Times*, 'England has bishops and dioceses of her own, and no others can be appointed without insult to the crown and kingdom, and just liabilities on the part of the offenders.' We have here a hint of the circumstances which render it a possibility to foist such fallacies on the public, as well as the consequences to which they point. To change the names, Scotland had synods and presbyteries of its own—those of the Established Church as appointed by legislative authority—yet the Scottish dissenters, happening to be Presbyterians, have over and over again made new synods and presbyteries without ever thinking that they had insulted the crown and kingdom and come under just liabilities. It has so happened, however, that none of the dissenters from the Church of England are Episcopalians, otherwise there would have been other bishops and dioceses long ago, and the fallacy in present use would never have been born, or at least could never have lived. But will there never be any dissenters in England save the Roman Catholics requiring bishops for their Church government? Is there not an exceeding likelihood that ere long we shall see such *coming out of the English Church, carrying their Episcopal principles with them*? Lately it seemed as if this exodus were to be composed of the Evangelical party, and, if we are not mistaken, a sort of beginning or nucleus already existed in the person of Mr. Shore, of Exeter; and now it is more likely to be the Puseyites, beginning with Mr. Bennet. But nobody knows whose may be the first turn or whose the next; but any man may know who chooses to consider, that if this doctrine of no bishops nor dioceses save those of the Established Church being permissible is to be held good, Episcopal dissenters are things prohibited."

What is here hinted at is that which has now actually come to pass; there has been a secession from the ranks of the Low-Church side, inaugurated by Bishop Cummins and styled the "Reformed Episcopal Church," and a secession from the High-Church ranks styled "Corporate Reunion," which at present possesses bishops, (whose names are, however, withheld from the public on the plea of expediency.)—Pp. 354-358, and 359-361.

THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1880. (Boston.) 1. Natural Law; by Prof. O. Cone, D.D. 2. Universalism the only Solution of the Problems of Moral Evil and Human Destiny; by Rev. George Hill. 3. A Study of American Archaeology—Part I. Interesting Remains and their Location; by Rev. J. F. M'Lean. 4. Religion and Morals; by Rev. Sumner Ellis. 5. The Chaldaeo-Assyrian Doctrine of the Future Life, according to the Cuneiform Inscriptions; by Rev. O. D. Miller. 6. Universalism and Punishment; by Rev. W. C. Stiles. 7. St. Peter's Privileges; or, The Keys of the Kingdom; by Jane L. Patterson.

We are indebted to the "Universalist Quarterly" for a definition of the "New Orthodoxy" in the "Independent," which had escaped our notice in the paper itself, regularly as we are accustomed to peruse its columns. The definition states the basis which the whole tone and course of that paper indicate to underlie its own positions.

If the designation of "New Orthodoxy" is to be thrust upon believers who break away from the severe assertions and negations of old Calvinism, we should say that it belongs first to the Arminianism of the Wesleyan Churches. Their faith is "orthodoxy," and "new;" newer—and older—than Calvinism. If the term be applied to a line of evangelical thought within the Churches hitherto called Calvinistic, we should say that it is characterized:

1. By a very wide tolerance of belief, so it be reverent. It utterly denies the dogma of the Westminster divines—that none can be saved, "be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of Nature," unless they profess the Christian religion. It holds that God's mercy may include Mohammedans, Pagans, even skeptics and Atheists in Christian lands, if they have honestly tried to get at the truth, even though they have failed to find it.

2. By a larger recognition of a human, fallible element in the holy Scriptures. It thinks the application of reason and criticism to the Bible just as legitimate as when the canon was made.

3. While heartily accepting revelation and supernaturalism, by regarding as doubtful and unimportant many dogmas and philosophies of old orthodoxies.

4. By recognizing a basis of true faith underlying many religions, and seeing in Christianity the greatest and mightiest of the influences by which men are made the friends of God.

5. By accepting with great simplicity the Edwardean doctrine that true virtue consists in "love to Being in General."—P. 375.

As we understand its articles thus stated we are decidedly heretic to this "New Orthodoxy." We acknowledge the "Independent's" candor in giving a true account of the "Arminianism of the Wesleyan Churches." It virtually acknowledges that our so-called "Arminianism" is the "old," that is, the primitive dogma.

That dogma is in truth neither "Arminianism" nor "Wesleyanism," but primitive *Christism* and Christ's original apostolism and Churchism. In spite of Augustine and his influence it reigned predominant in the old Churches, Greek, Roman, and Anglican, until at the Reformation the disastrous genius of John Calvin brought Predestination into Protestantism, and actually that much established a spurious "orthodoxy" in its Churches. Arminius rescued the old doctrine, and the Wesleyan reformation completed its rescue and inspired it with its primitive life. Wesley, therefore, did not launch out in an undefined field of speculation; but, as a *restoration*, he firmly stayed within the limits of "Scripture and the primitive Church." Herein he differed from modern Germany and with this "New Orthodoxy." That "New Orthodoxy" seems without a conservative stoppage. It stands upon a smooth inclined plane and smoothly tends to the bottom, or to the bottomless.

In regard to Article First we may say that we coincide in the rejection of the Westminster doctrine, believing with St. Peter, Acts x, 34, 35, that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." But to the "Independent's" very pregnant addition, "and Atheists in Christian lands," Wesleyanism is eloquently silent. She believes that *Atheism is sin*. It is the result of alienation from God, and produces alienation from God. She believes with St. Paul, in Rom. i, 19, 20, that it is a willful and responsible unbelief, "so that they are WITHOUT EXCUSE." It is an unbelief against intuitive light and knowledge as well as against external evidence. It is, therefore, a heinous and a damning sin.

Article Second lays open the sacred "canon" to a free fight; to as free discussion "as when the canon was made." Wesleyanism, thanks to her Anglican origin, has placed the once settled "canon" in her articles of faith, and holds that canon to stand among her undisputable foundations. In our Articles the complete canon is placed on the same basis with the doctrine of the Trinity. The Bible is an ORGANIC BOOK. Take it as it stands, from Genesis to Revelation, and it is a most majestic WHOLE. As to the Old Testament this has been asserted with absolute finality by the divine Giver of all revelation, Jesus Christ himself, the Son of God. Christ quoted the Old Testament as a divine authority; and his collective term for

the organic whole was LAW, (John x, 34; xii, 34,) which was a synonym for *canon*. As to the New Testament we refer our readers to the concluding parts of our synopsis quotation from the "British Quarterly," and especially to Canon Westcott's affirmation of the *wholeness* of the New Testament. We reject with promptitude the pruriencies displayed by modern nelo-gists, whether in the columns of the "Independent," or elsewhere, for gnawing like vermin at these foundations. Especially do we reject the flippancies with which petty upstarts not only question the fundamental, but put on airs, and talk about "modern thought," and all that *lingua franca*. And when they make the acceptance of their crotchets a test of being "up to the standard of modern biblical criticism," we have no difficulty or hesitation in stringently applying the critical "rod to the fool's back."

The Third Article is not sufficiently guarded for our acceptance. Wesleyanism has been a well-defined system of doctrines, and it is by their definiteness that they have been efficient. As Dr. Fowler once well said, a religion needs a theology as a body needs a skeleton. That skeleton must be neither boneless in substance nor distorted in shape. There is great danger under the present temper of discarding the doctrines of our theology, of relapsing into a very ignorant religious sentimentalism. It is a very suspicious sign when the word "dogma" becomes a cant term of reproach. It was Theodore Parker's term of stigma for all the peculiar truths of Christianity. And one of Dr. Newhall's earliest and best articles in our "Quarterly" replied by showing that Parker's own *dogmas* were quite as *dogmatic*, and by him quite as dogmatically asserted, as any of the truths of our theology. On the whole, our young Methodist ministers who read the pages of the "Independent" would do well to read carefully, also, Dr. Hurst's "History of Rationalism," that they may fully understand the route by which utter apostasy from Christianity can be very smoothly attained through progressive liberalism.

ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL JOURNAL. Issued Quarterly. Volume I., No. I. January, 1880. (Chicago.) Palestine Explorations; by Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D. The Silent Races; by L. J. Dupre. Ancient Lake Dwellers. Aztec Signs for Speech. The Test of Linguistic Affinity; by Albert S. Gatschet. The Elephantine Cave. Population of Jerusalem. A Monument of Cyrus the Great. Destruction of Ancient Monuments. Ancient Settlements of the Phenicians. Museums. Aye-nar. Fountain of Youth. Mandarin Language. Asiatic Origin of the Brazilians.

Copper Age in Mexico. Our Contributors. Scope of Our Journal. Neolithic Implements. Selections from Magazines.—Book Reviews. Sources of Information as to the Prehistoric Condition of America; by the Editor.

April, 1880. Influence of the Aboriginal Tribes upon the Aryan Speech of India; by Prof. John Avery. The Latest Cuneiform Discovery; by Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., F.R.S. The Assyro-Babylonian Doctrine of Immortality; by Rev. O. D. Miller. Osirids of Ancient Egypt; by Prof. T. O. Paine. Human Sacrifices in Ancient Times; by Senor Orosco y Berra. Teutonic Mythology; by Prof. R. B. Anderson. The Antiquity of Sacred Writings in the Valley of the Euphrates; by Rev. O. D. Miller. A Cinerary Urn; by Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D. Mount Tabor; by Rev. S. D. Phelps, D.D. Editorial Notes. Miscellaneous: The Transfiguration.—The Beauty of the Dead Sea.—The Holy Land.—Recent Explorations in Greece.—Cleopatra's Needles.—A Buried Temple and Palace.—Synopsis of Articles in Magazines. Archaeology and Ethnology.—How the Pyramids were Built.—Discoveries at Olympia.—The Venus of Vienne.—The Relics at Præneste.—The History of Money.—Collections of Coins in this Country.—Folk-Lore.—Mythology. Art and Architecture. Geographical Explorations. Proceedings of Societies. Index of Articles published during 1879 on Archaeology, Anthropology, and Ethnology.

Mr. Peet, who has heretofore edited the "American Antiquarian," now issues also a new periodical with the above title, devoted to Eastern archæology, so that he now superintends the Orient as well as the Occident. Its price is two dollars per annum, and the large number, especially of ministers, interested in the wonderful discoveries in Oriental archæology, especially in their bearing on the sacred records, will find every number a rich treat. He has engaged the aid of a large number of scholars, including Professor Sayce, Selah Merrill, Dr. James Strong, and Rev. T. O. Paine, "the best Egyptologist in this country."

From his first number we give the following quotation, indicating that Mr. Peet does not agree with Dr. Winchell in ascribing any immense geological antiquity or profound significance to Professor Whitney's Calaveras skull:

NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN GRAVEL BEDS IN CALIFORNIA.

Professor Whitney's reports on the auriferous gravels of the Sierra Nevada, published by the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, describe numerous implements which have been discovered in the gravel. The list comprises, 1. A mortar found in pay gravel underneath the volcanic one hundred and fifty feet, locality San Andreas, Colorado County, Cal., date, 1860 and 1869. 2. A stone hatchet, triangular in shape, size four inches around, six inches long, *with a hole through it for a handle*, found seventy-five feet from the surface in gravel, and under basalt, three hundred feet from mouth of tunnel, locality Table Mountain, Tuolumne County, finder, James Carvin, date, 1858. 3. A large number of mortars, pestles, *stone dishes*, with bones of mastodon

and elephant, in auriferous gravel, ten to twenty feet below surface, locality, "Murphy," Tuolumne County, Cal. 4. Mortars, some of them weighing from twenty to forty pounds, "in gravels" forty feet deep, locality, Amodor County, date, 1852, 1857, 1858, and 1864, now in Voy's collection. 5. Stone mortars, one ten inches high, and six in diameter, found at ten feet depth, others at a depth of one hundred feet. 6. Bones of a human skeleton, found in clay thirty-eight feet below surface, finder, H. H. Boyce, M.D., 1853, Placerville. 7. Oval stones with grooves around them lengthwise, implements used as handles for bows, hollow on one side and convex on the other, five or six inches long, one inch thick, locality, El Dorado County. 8. Large stone platters, and a mortar made of granite, fifteen inches high and twelve inches in circumference, depth, ten to twenty feet; also a platter of granite eighteen inches in diameter, locality, Placer County. 9. Numerous stone relics, mortars, pestles, and grooved disks at various depths, locality, Nevada County. 10. A stone mortar standing upright with pestle in it, apparently as it was left by the owner. Other mortars from half a dozen to a dozen or two, enough to show a large population, depth, twelve feet underneath undisturbed gravel, also several mortars on the top of blue gravel, and another in blue gravel, forty feet below the surface, finder, Amos Bowman, dates, from 1853 to 1858. We have no opinion to express as to the antiquity or geological history of these relics, but our readers will notice certain points in the description which show that they are *Neolithic* and not *Paleolithic*, and any inference as to their being signs of a "missing link" in the tertiary age is far-fetched and unwarranted.—Pp. 23, 24.

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. *Zemlja i Volja*; by Axel Gustafson. 2. *The Philosophy of Final Causes*; by J. M'Lean Smith. 3. *The Value and Regulation of Currency*; by Hon. A. J. Warner, M. C. 4. *Goethe and Bettina*; by Clara White. 5. *The Secret History of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill*; by John A. Parker. 6. *The Science of Public Health*; by William Dowe. 7. *The Political Future of the Jews*; by David Ker. 8. *The Intellectual Position of the Negro*; by Prof. R. T. Greener. 9. *William Black's Novels*; by William Baird.

Under its present editorship the National sustains an honorable rank in our higher periodical literature. In the present number we specially note Professor Greener's defense of his race against Mr. Parton. The style of the defense is itself a first-rate defense. Specially, also, we have read the able maintenance of Pantheism in the second Article by J. M'Lean Smith. Upon this article we have penciled pretty exhaustive notes, which want of room excludes, but which we may furnish in our next Quarterly.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1880. (London.)—1. Justification. 2. The New Testament a Standing Monument and Verification of the Divine Mission of Jesus Christ; by the late Principal Lorimer, D.D. 3. Hymnology as a Reflection of Christian Doctrine and Life; by Rev. Andrew Carter. 4. Christ's Death: What was it? 5. Spain and Ireland: Resemblances and Contrasts; by Rev. W. Moore. 6. Buddhism; by Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D. 7. The Body an Argument for the Soul; by Charles P. Krauth, D.D., LL.D. 8. The Exclusiveness of Christianity; by Rev. Professor S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 9. Haeckel on the Evolution of Man; by Principal Dawson.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. The English Precursors of Newton. 2. Mind in the Lower Animals. 3. Naval Power in the Pacific. 4. Memoirs of the Prince Consort. 5. Sabians and Christians of St. John. 6. Landlords, Tenants, and Laborers. 7. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. 8. Hodgkin's Invaders of Italy. 9. Bright's Edition of Pepys' Diary. 10. The Divorce of Katharine of Aragon. 11. The New Parliament in Session.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1880. (Calcutta.)—1. Christ, neither Eastern nor Western, but the Son of Man; by Rev. E. J. Scott. 2. The Santals; by A. Campbell. 3. The Later Hindi Translations of the Bible; by Rev. Nehemiah Goreh. 4. The Primitive Religion and the Rig-Veda; by Rev. K. S. Macdonald. 5. Hindu Widows; by Rev. James Payne. 6. The Independence of the Native Church—Our Side of the Case; by a Bengali Missionary. 7. Among the Chandals of Gopalgunge; by Rev. Mothoora Nath Bose, B.A., B.L. 8. Bible Distribution; by Rev. E. S. Summers. 9. The Provisions of the Education Dispatch of 1854: What they are, and how far carried out.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. The First Lord Minto. 2. Middlesex. 3. Thomas Chatterton. 4. Recent and Future Arctic Voyages. 5. Marie-Antoinette. 6. Universities and their Critics. 7. Around the World with General Grant. 8. St. Paul and Renan. 9. Whigs, Radicals, and Conservatives.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. Scotch Peerage. 2. The Place of Socrates in Greek Philosophy. 3. The Peasant-Poets of Russia. 4. Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. 5. The Life of the Prince Consort. 6. Game Laws and Game Preserving. 7. State Papers: Foreign Series. 8. A New View of the Indian Exchange Difficulty.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1880. (London.)—1. Senior's Conversations. 2. German Preachers and Preaching of the Present Century. 3. Bishop Wilberforce. 4. St. Augustine of Canterbury. 5. A Liberal-Conservative Chinaman on Western Countries. 6. The Early Victory of Christianity. 7. Dr. Moulton on the Hebrews.

The following notice of a late book by Dr. Dawson, written in further demolition of the geologic man, shows the curious effect of the geology of America on the minds of the European theorists in palæontology. They are queerly taken aback at seeing their proud systems suddenly transformed to moonshine. It is not, as the writer almost petulantly intimates, the "American archaeologists" that "dispute the vast time-claims of their European brethren," but the American facts. Especially is American catastrophism playing havoc with Sir Charles

Lyell's uniformitarianism, which the Europeans have carried to a superstition, and made the basis of a system of wild theory:

Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives. An Attempt to Illustrate the Character and Condition of the Prehistoric Men in Europe by those of American Races. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal of McGill College and University, Montreal, Author of "The Story of the Earth and Man," etc. Hodder & Stoughton. 1880.

It is three hundred and forty-five years since Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence and landed at the Indian town of Hochelaga. This he describes as "a round citie" (we quote Hakluyt's translation) "compassed about with timber, with three course of rampires, one within another, framed with pieces of timber very cunningly joyned together after their fashion." The inhabitants grew maize, pounded it with wooden pestles, and baked cakes with heated stones. They smoked fish and flesh "without any taste or savour of salt," and made wampum of shells. In fact, they were living just as the "flintfolk" were living in a prehistoric British village; and in less than a century after Cartier, when the Sieur of Maisonneuve was founding Montreal, they and their city had disappeared as wholly as have the dwellers in Maiden Castle or the other Wiltshire and Somerset fortresses. Thenceforward till 1860 Hochelaga was lost to the eyes of men. It was then unearthed, while excavations were being made in the west end of Montreal for house foundations, and the "finds" were, as Principal Dawson points out, exactly like those so common at home, and so universally attributed to ages long anterior to the dawn of history; indeed, "but for Cartier's narrative, the Montreal excavators might have supposed they were dealing with the relics of a people who perished thousands of years ago." The inference is that our chipped flints and primitive pottery and polished stone implements need not be pushed back into such remote ages. Even the so-called palæolithic flints of the Somme Valley and elsewhere, Dr. Dawson suggests, may have been in use along with the polished or neolithic implements, the former being used as hoes in the summer farming of the lower levels, and left during the winter floods in the spots where they are now found by men whose homes, and therefore their more artistic implements, were on the higher ground. He instances the flint hoes or picks similar to those of the St. Acheul gravel pits, which are found in alluvial deposits near the Ohio mounds. Most of the American archaeologists, who seem to make it a point of honor to dispute the vast time-claims of their European brethren, attribute these to "the highly civilized nations of the Mississippi Valley, who possessed copper implements." Such flints are found in caches, as if quantities were used at one time; and their being found by themselves, and not associated with polished implements, is no argument against their being contemporary. To think otherwise is, in our author's estimation, "an inveterate prejudice." Such tools would be kept by themselves,

and never where they were not wanted, just as the stone gouges (probably used for drawing off the sugar-maple sap) are found apart, unmixed with any chipped stones. Arrows and war-axes, on the other hand, are not found stored up, if we except the so-called palæolithic and transition weapons, which Dr. Dawson believes to be half-finished instruments, roughly shaped at the quarry, and left to be finished at leisure when the flint should have got damp enough to be more workable.

On the whole, we are told, the weight of American evidence, past and present, is against any distinction between palæolithic and neolithic; and the European facts will, we are assured, if properly looked at, lead to the same conclusion.

Of course, it is a question for the geologist; but Dr. Dawson is no tyro in geology. He does not underrate the evidence about the Kent's Hole deposits, beneath which implements have been found. He simply says: "To explain these by the continued operations of merely modern causes, without taking into account floods and other cataclysmic agents, is a stretch of uniformitarianism which the deposits themselves plainly contradict. Thus our calculations as to age rather serve to bring the age of the mammoth up toward us than to throw man back in geological time."

We are thus thrown back at once into catastrophic geology; and the wrought flints, which cannot be accounted for by work having been carried on at different levels, are not relegated to an unmeasured antiquity, because buried beneath successive layers of mud and stalagmite, for the causes now at work in nature acted in earlier times with far greater intensity.

There the matter rests. Meanwhile Dr. Dawson's books (for they all deserve careful reading) ought to make us suspend our judgment and reconsider our facts, instead of taking to that scientific dogmatism which is more offensive than its theological namesake.

We see in Europe the stone age lasting on almost to yesterday—stone implements being in use till lately in Ireland and Scandinavia; nay, one form of stone implement, the flint and steel, being by no means obsolete even yet. We see in America the civilization of the stone age co-existing with the fullest modern culture. Why, then, should we demand such vast periods of time for the growing up of this modern culture, and why imagine that the old stone-age folk were one whit lower in the scale than the Red men, whose implements so closely resemble theirs? The Red men, indeed, have gone or are going, without having exercised in a great part of North America any perceptible influence on the intruding race which has displaced them. Those who are left have degenerated—Dr. Dawson has a chapter on "The Lost Arts of Savages;" the wonderful hard stone pipes are now no longer made east of the Rocky Mountains. Of the flintfolk we may believe that they were either Basques or Lapps, or else Celts; that is, cousins-german of the Teutons. In the latter case they

must have improved rapidly; and it is not impossible that the Red man might have improved had he been better handled. At any rate, there was as much difference between the Mexicans and the Hurons as between the *Æduan* or *Belgic Gauls* and the savage *Attacetti*.

Dr. Dawson (whose book would have been much improved by an index) has collected a great number of facts about "the physical characteristics of prehistoric men," of which we will only say, that it is a little rash to argue from the capacity of one or two skulls here and there. He pronounces the *CroMagnon* men to have been "gigantic and magnificent," thus confirming the belief that "there were giants in those days." "Judging from their great cranial capacity, and the small number of their skeletons found, we may suppose they represent rude outlying tribes belonging to races which elsewhere had attained to greater numbers and culture. These giants were superseded by a small-statured race with shorter heads, possibly after the catastrophes which destroyed the post-Pliocene continent that stretched westward through Ireland. But whether this bigness of brain indicates, "like the mound-builders preceding the Red Indians, that man's earlier state was the best, that he had been a good and noble creature before he became a savage," we cannot pretend to say. Dr. Dawson claims that this high organization of the cave men "justifies the tradition of a golden and Edenic age, and mutely protests against the philosophy of progressive development as applied to man." We do not see how, as a geologist, he reconciles man's recent origin with his *CroMagnon* man having possibly visited "the great Atlantis, and the valley of the Gihon, where now is the Mediterranean, and that nameless river which flowed where now is the German Ocean." But, then, he is a catastrophic geologist, and believes that Noah's flood was the break up of this post-Pliocene world, and the bringing land and sea into their present shape. His explanation of the height above the present water level of the *Somme Valley* caves is ingenious: the land may have risen. It certainly has done so in Scandinavia, in Scotland, etc. "In the days of the cave men the lower valley may have been a sort of delta, with banks of gravel, to which they might resort for materials, or into which their rejected implements might be drifted." They would thus have lived when the land was slowly rising, after the great depression which let in the Irish Sea and German Ocean on what had been dry land.

His summing up, then, is that there is no ground for believing in any race more rude or less physically developed than the modern semi-civilized races. The modern savage is a degenerate creature. The most ancient man seems to have been a well-developed and cultured *Turanian*; and this "tells in favor both of the moderate antiquity and unity of the species." Further, Dr. Dawson thinks he can find in these old men "the primitive idea of God, the instinct of immortality, and even some premonitions of a Redeemer." Into this very important subject we can-

not enter; but we strongly recommend (on the *audi alteram partem* principle) the students of Dr. Tyler and Sir J. Lubbock to see what use the American geologist makes of much the same facts as those with which they deal. The similarity between the carved reindeer horns of the Dordogne cavern and the totems of Red Indian tribes is at any rate curious; while Dr. Dawson's engraving of the upright monument of a Chippewa chief closely resembles some of the "sculptured stones" of Scotland, and some of the French *roches percées*. That so-called "primitive" modes of interment lasted on in outlying places to quite modern times is proved by the discovery, in previously unopened Cornish barrows, of very late Roman coins associated with chipped flints and rude pottery.—Pp. 491-494.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1880. (London.)—1. The Two Nations and the Commonwealth. 2. Father Curci's New Translation of the Gospels. 3. Religion and Morality. 4. Evolution, Viewed in Relation to Theology. 5. Inspiration. 6. Irish Land Reforms. 7. The London Water Question. 8. The General Election and its Results.

The following quotation from the fifth article clearly illustrates the doctrine of

THE NEW TESTAMENT AN ORGANIC BOOK.

Our entire canon is the product of the authoritative mind of the primitive Church, including the Gospel of John, and the Epistles of 2 Peter and Jude.

We recognize in the books of the New Testament, in the first place, the relation of the writings themselves to the special spiritual requirements of the Church of God, or of some one portion of it, at the time. The Gospels are adapted, each one, to a definite Christian consciousness, while it is nevertheless true that they stand four-square in their unity. We may believe that as the Christian writings were called forth by their adaptation to portions of the Church, so they were preserved by them. The unity which is manifested in the New Testament is the unity of the Christian Church itself. And upon what basis was it that these different portions of the Church received and preserved the sacred writings? Entirely on the basis of their apostolic authority. Justin Martyr not only recognizes generally that apostolic authority, but he connects it with their work as teachers. "Through the power of God they declared to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God." He compares this apostolic teaching to that of the prophets.* "Just as Abraham," he says, "believed the voice of God, and it was counted to him for righteousness; so we Christians, also believing the voice of God, which is both spoken again through the apostles of Christ and proclaimed to us through the prophets, have re-

* I. Apol., 39.

nounced even to death all that is in the world."* "Prophetical gifts remain with us even to this time, from which you (Jews) ought to understand that those which were formerly left with your nation are now transferred to us."†

The same view is very distinctly supported by the writings of Irenæus,‡ and by those of Tertullian in his "Exhortation concerning Chastity," (c. 4.) "It is true," says the latter, "that believers have the Spirit of God, but not all believers are apostles. For apostles have the Spirit of God properly who have him fully in the operations of prophecy and the efficacy of healing virtues and the evidence of the tongues; not partially, as others have." This was the voice of the second century. We may well believe that it was that of the first as well. "The history of the New Testament canon," says Dr. Westcott, "may be divided into three periods. The first extends to the time of Hegesippus, (A. D. 170,) and includes the era of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the apostolic writings. The second is closed by the persecution of Diocletian, (A.D. 303,) and marks the separation of the sacred writings from the remaining ecclesiastical literature. The third may be defined by the third council of Carthage, (A.D. 397,) in which a catalogue of the books of Scripture was formally ratified by conciliar authority. The first is characteristically a period of tradition, the second of speculation, the third of authority."§

Speaking of that first period, and of the gradual collection of the apostolic writings, the same devout and admirable scholar remarks in another place: "Silently and slowly, without any formal deliberations or open contests, the work of God went forward. The principles which the apostles set forth separately were combined and systematized. The societies which they founded were more fully organized according to the outlines they had drawn. The writings which they left were preserved and studied, and exercised more and more a formative authority. The Church rose and spread, not by any sudden miracle, but by the gradual assimilation of all around which could contribute to its growth, in virtue of the action of that Spirit which is its life. . . . In their origin the writings of the apostles are seen to have been casual and fragmentary. Their authors claim for themselves distinctly the gift of the Holy Spirit; but they nowhere express any design of conveying to their readers a full outline of the faith. Still less do they indicate any idea of supplementing the Old Testament by a new collection of Scriptures. *Yet it is equally certain that the New Testament does form a whole. Its different elements are united internally by the closest and most subtle harmonies. No part can be taken away without sensible injury to its unity and richness.* The words of the apostles were placed more and more frequently by the side of the words of the prophets, as the teach-

* "Dial. with Trypho," § 119.

† Ibid., § 82.

‡ See his work "Against Heresies," book iv, c. ix, 25, 26.

§ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Art. Canon.

ing of Christ by that of the law. Partial collections of the Scriptures of 'the New Testament' were formed without the Church; and as the whole Christian body realized the fullness of its common life, the teaching and the books, which had been in some sense the symbol of a part only, were ratified by the whole."*

Thus we are shut up to this conclusion, that the authority attached to the sacred books was the authority of the Spirit of God as testified first in the sacred writers themselves, and next in those who received their writings and applied to them the test of their own Christian consciousness, as it was developed in the living communities of believers and embodied in the traditions and usages of the Church. In the application of this test, doubtless, it was not either a mere instinct which was appealed to, nor a mere historical tradition, nor the existence of actual documents critically examined. The voice of the Christian community was first the voice of the few and then the voice of the many; first the echo of the living voices of the apostles themselves, and then the memory of those voices, and then the residuum of testimony in the communities, books, and current speech of Christians. And the result is a volume of inspired writings which has preserved to us not alone the testimony of Christ and his twelve representative disciples, but the indirect evidence of the embodiment of that teaching in a Christian society without which it would have been impossible that those writings should have been handed down. The Spirit of God in the book and the Spirit of God in the life of man, in the historic world, confirm and authorize one another—"The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."—Pp. 120-122.

These principles lie at the basis of all solid Biblical Introduction. On this subject we recommend the perusal of Bernard's "Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament."

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Brieger. Fourth Volume. Second Number.—*Essays*: 1. BRIEGER, The Religious Policy of Constantine the Great. 2. REUTER, Studies on Augustine, (Second Article.) *Critical Reviews*: BUDDENDEG, Recent English Literature on the History of the Reformation. *Analecta*: 1. NEUMANN, A Tübingen Manuscript of Pseudo-Justin containing the Epistle to Diognetus. 2. WALTZ, Epistolae Reformatorum. 3. KAWERAU, Epistles and Documents Relating to the History of the Antinomian Controversy, (First Article.) 4. WALTZ, Dicta Melancthonis. 5. CRECELIOUS, Miscellaneous.

The article by Dr. Brieger inquires into the personal relation and motives of Constantine the Great in regard to Christianity.

* "Bible in the Church," chap. v.

He assumes that Eusebius' story of the cross vision, in 311, is no longer believed by any writer of note. The personal life of Constantine up to his death proves that he was not a Christian by personal conviction, but that the favors he bestowed upon Christianity were a part of his policy. The first proof of his intention to favor the Christians was given in 312, when he ordered the shields of his soldiers to be marked with the monogram of the name of Christ, a combination of the letters XP. The celebrated labarum which was subsequently carried in front of his armies may possibly have been made at that time, but this is not probable. The Christian symbol when adopted in 312 was, however, by no means used exclusively, but it was placed side by side with the ancient pagan symbols. In 313 the famous edict of toleration was issued in favor of the Christians, but this edict involved no infringement upon the rights of the State religion. The entire pagan worship was continued, inclusive of astrology; occasionally the continuance was guaranteed by laws. Even the coins of the emperor continue to wear a heathen impress; quite frequently they are devoted to the sun-god, the favorite of the enlightened pagan monotheists; in many other cases, to Jupiter or to Mars. The emperor shows no intention, as some writers have believed, to introduce a new universal religion; but, in his opinion, the two religions, the old and the new, shall co-exist. In order to promote their mutual toleration he endeavored to find a neutral ground. Therefore he speaks in his letters and edicts frequently of a supreme Deity, by which the Christians were expected to think of God the Father, the pagans of Jupiter or of the sun-god. The introduction of the celebration of Sunday had the same aim, and in order that Christian and pagan soldiers might celebrate it conjointly he prescribed a general monotheistic prayer to be used by both. When Constantine became the sole ruler of the empire, the favors bestowed by him upon the Christians became more marked, but still the continuance of pagan worship was not interfered with. It is true, paganism was designated as an impious opinion, as a power of darkness. But the "erring" pagans were authorized to keep their false temples. In 326 he issued a prohibition to repair decaying temples, but he remained Pontifex Maximus of the pagan State religion; he provided for the pagan priests,

and even toward the close of his reign confirmed them in the possession of their income and rights, and in the exemption from public services. An inscription which belongs to the last years of his life, and the genuineness of which is beyond any doubt, proves that a little town of Italy was authorized to erect a temple to his family, the gens Flavia, and to institute scenic plays and gladiatorial combats. Even in his new residence, Constantinople, several new temples arose which rivaled many churches in splendor. In 330 Constantinople was placed under the protection of a special goddess, and all public squares were furnished with statues of gods. During the entire reign of Constantine we find pagans in the highest offices in the army, in the government, at court, and although there were many court bishops who surrounded the emperor, we also find a new Platonic sophist in the confidence of the emperor. The merit of having fully proved that Constantine did not make Christianity the State religion, but established a "partitetic" state, is ascribed by Dr. Brieger to a work by H. Richter on the Great Roman Empire under the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II., and Maximus, (Berlin, 1865.) No compulsion was used to spread Christianity, but the emperor did not disdain the liberal use of external favors to strengthen the Christian party, and is even reported by his Christian biographer to have made an address to the bishops assembled at Nice, advising them to increase the number of Christians by prudent, though dishonest, measures. After giving this historical summary of those events in the life of Constantine which indicate his personal relation to Christianity, Dr. Brieger inquires more minutely into the aim which the policy of the emperor had in view. He endeavors to show that Constantine, as a statesman, foresaw that paganism was doomed to fall, and Christianity to obtain ere long the control of the Roman Empire. At that time the Christians were only a small minority in the empire. H. Richter, whose work has already been referred to, estimates that there were from five to six millions of Christians against about forty-five millions of pagans. Other estimates place the number of Christians from one tenth to one twentieth of the total population of the empire. But, though a minority, they were steadily growing, and the inevitable doom of the pagan State religion was foreseen by many. At that time the Church already had a

strong, hierarchical organization. If the emperor without any interference allowed the Church to replace the pagan State religion, it was likely that the Church would become the ruler of the State. To prevent this, Constantine conceived the idea of making the already powerful organization of the Church serviceable to the State and the government. The part he took in the Council of Nice illustrates his position. The emperor called the Council; he appointed the president or presided himself; he indicated to the bishops what resolutions he wanted them to pass; the bishops who refused to concur in these resolutions were deposed or exiled. At that time the emperor favored the orthodox party in opposition to the Arians; a few years later he went over to the side of the Arians, and so many bishops had already learned to submit to the demands of the emperor, that he could secure the deposition by a synod of Athanasius. He treated the Church as a part of the State administration; thus he laid the foundation of the idea of a Christian State Church, and of the so-called Christian State. These ideas still prevail in many European States, among others in Germany. Being a member and a minister of one of these State Churches, Dr. Brieger would fain believe that the system inaugurated by Constantine has redounded, on the one hand, as he admits, to many serious injuries; yet, on the other hand, also to immeasurable blessings to mankind, as the Christian Church on this new basis has become the great educator of the nations. Appended to this article is an essay on the history and the different forms of the monogram of the name of Christ.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1880.

Third Number.—*Essays*: 1. GRIMM, The Council of the Apostles. 2. WETZEL, An Attempt to Explain Galatians ii, 14–21. 3. FISCHER, Rothe's Fundamental Views of Ethics and Religion. *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. RUPRECHT, The Preparation for Preaching. 2. KLOSTERMANN, The Date of the Martyrdom of Isaiah in the Roman Calendar. *Reviews*: 1. GOEBEL, The Parables of Jesus Reviewed by Achelis. 2. ZOECKEL, History of the Relations between Theology and Natural Science.

1880. Fourth Number. *Essays*: 1. WADSTEIN, The Influence of Stoicism upon the Earliest Formation of Christian Doctrines. 2. ERHARDT, The Views of the Reformers on National Economy, (First Article.) 3. KLOSTERMANN, On the Calendar Signification of the Year of Jubilee. *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. BAETHGEN, Critical Notes on Some Passages of the Text of the Psalms. *Reviews*: 1. HERDINGIUS, Hieronymi de viris illustribus liber, etc., reviewed by Ludwig.

Dr. Ernst Wadstein, the author of the first article in the fourth number, is lecturer in the theological faculty of the

Swedish University of Lund. The universities of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, have entirely the same organization as the universities of Germany, and many of the professors have received part of their education at the German institutions, and their literary productions are frequently published by them not only in their native languages, but also in that of Germany. They are frequent contributors to the scientific periodicals of Germany, which, of course, give to their ideas a wider circulation than the periodicals of their own countries. Dr. Wadstein's article first gives a full statement of the religious views of the Stoics, and compares them with Christianity. He next examines the relation existing between Stoicism and the religio-philosophical tenets of the early heresies which troubled the infancy of the Christian Church when theological speculations within the Church had hardly begun. The author of all these early heresies was, according to Irenæus, Simon Magus, a Samaritan Jew, whose doctrine was probably systematized by his disciples, and is fully set forth in the *Philosophoumena* of Origen. His fundamental ideas are undoubtedly of Stoic origin. The author of the *Philosophoumena* asserts that Simon derived the principles of his system from Heraclitus, which is so far correct as we know that the Stoics themselves made use of that source. The theory of the Naassenes, which is likewise fully explained in the *Philosophoumena*, is closely similar to that of Simon. The theories of the Perates, of the Sethians, and of Justin do not greatly differ from that of the Naassenes, although in their conception of matter they appear chiefly to follow Plato. Pythagorean admixtures are discovered in the speculations which are ascribed to Monoïmus Arabs. In all the systems referred to we find the Stoic view of God as a fire, which is both the primitive force and the primitive matter of existence, and which is developed itself by the life of the world. The doctrines of the Docetae are largely under the influence of the speculations of Valentinus, and distinguish fundamentally between matter or darkness and the divine light of ideas which pours into them from above; but at the bottom of the Valentinian ideas a Stoic foundation will be discovered. Basilides, next to Valentinus the most prominent of the Gnostics, excels his predecessors by greater originality and by greater perfection in system-

atizing. The Stoic element in his system is also very apparent; it is oddly and ingeniously blended with Christian elements, and the latter occupy a much more prominent place in this system than in those mentioned before, although for its development Platonism and Orientalism have furnished very considerable contributions. All these systems, from Simon down to Basilides, were agreed in endeavoring to develop a Christianity freed from Jewish elements, and leaning on Greek philosophy or the religious ideas of the East. In direct opposition to them the Elkesaites, who belonged to the Jewish Christian sect of the Ebionites, identified true Christianity with true and primitive Judaism, and they hoped to restore the latter by removing all foreign elements from the former. They were, however, unable to accomplish this task, as they adopted the theosophy of the Essenes, and besides admitted into their system several pagan ideas, especially some of Oriental origin. Thus, although they had a different aim in view, they were drawn into contact with the Gnostics as soon as they became acquainted with them. The influence of Gnostic systems upon their views is especially found in the Clementine Homilies. Dr. Baur, in his work on "Apollonius of Tyana and Christ," and Dr. Schweigler, in his work on "The Post-Apostolic Age," have traced the influence of Pythagorean views on the theology of the Clementines; but, as Dr. Uhlhorn says, in his work on "The Homilies and Recognitions of Clemens Romanus," (Göttingen, 1854,) "The atmosphere in which this work lives, the cement which keeps the different elements together, is the Stoic philosophy." After following up the Stoic element in all the heresies of the early Christian Church, Dr. Wadstein next undertakes to show that even the Apologists of the first centuries, in their polemic works against pagans, Jews, and heretics, show unmistakable marks of being influenced by Stoic views. He examines in succession the works and systems of Justin, Athenagoras, Melito, Clement of Alexandria, and especially of Tertullian, whom he calls "the most noteworthy in the whole series of the celebrated Fathers of the ancient Church."

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

A NEW work on India, by Emil Schlagintweit, which is now in the course of publication, (*Indien in Wort und Bild*, Leipzig,) contains very full information on the history of Christianity in that country. Three brothers of the author, Hermann, Adolf, and Robert, are well known for their extensive and successful geographical explorations in the Himalaya Mountains. Emil Schlagintweit is the author of several works on the history of India, and his frequent contributions to German papers on the present affairs of India are highly valued. A few extracts from his new work, relating to Christianity in India, will be of interest to all readers of the Quarterly.

No other province in India is so closely connected with the history of Christianity as Madras and the Malabar coast. Very near to the Christians, Jews were living from the remotest times. According to a native tradition, Saint Thomas, one of the apostles, landed in India, in the year 52. A German missionary, Germann, has written a volume of 800 pages on the Church of the Christians of Saint Thomas, in which he undertakes to prove that the apostle entered India near the mouth of the Indus, and labored at first in what is now the Punjab, among Dshats, before he set out to search in the south a more promising field. He sailed from Cranganor, on the Malabar coast, to Cochin. Here on the coast the apostle founded the first Christian congregations. Until recently a stone column was shown, near Quilon, which the apostle was said to have set up. Now it has been swallowed up by the sea. By the most frequented commercial road of those times he traveled into the interior of the country, established a congregation at Nellakul, which lies at the foot of the highest peak of the mountain, crossed the mountain, and advanced as far as the eastern coast. In Mallapoor, now called Little Mount, and situated within the territory of the city of Madras, the apostle settled. He labored here for about ten years, and is said to have finally been killed by the arrow of a hunter while he was absorbed in prayer. In the third century his bones were carried over to Edessa, the modern Arfa on the Euphrates. The traditions on the origin of the Indian Church vary; but in view of the fact that Roman writers were well acquainted with the coast and the political affairs of Coromandel, and that the existence of an active trade between Rome and South India is proved by the numerous coins belonging to the period of the first emperors which were found here, it is by no means impossible that South India was visited in the first century by a Christian apostle. The strong attachment to Little Mount Saint Thomas, which has been exhibited by the Indian Christians at all times, also indicated that there events of great importance for Christianity must have taken place.

The first foreigner who preached in India after Saint Thomas was Pan-

taenns, the learned head of the celebrated school of Alexandria. He landed, about 200, near the modern Bombay, and preached in the Gujerate as well as on the Indus. The Manicheans also tried to come into contact with the Indian Christians. The name *Manigrama*, which is found in the oldest document of a land grant to Christians, and which is interpreted as "village of Manes," is adduced as an argument that even Manes himself visited India. In 338 the Emperor Constantine sent the Indian Theophilus, a native of the island of Diu, which now belongs to Portugal, to Diu to gain the Indian Christians for Arianism. His efforts were neutralized by the Bishop of Edessa, but they prove that the Indian congregations at that time must have been both numerous and important, and that the bishop who signed his name in the minutes of the Council of Nice as "John, Bishop of Persia and Great India," must have actually exercised episcopal jurisdiction in India.

The first bishop who resided in India was Italo, or Ahatalla. About 345, a merchant of Jerusalem, Thomas, led, by order of Bishop Eustathius of Edessa, a colony of Syrians to India, and settled with them near Cranganor. Mar Thomas, as he is called in the annals of Malabar, became a man of great influence, who gave to the Indian Church a permanent constitution. A peculiar feature in this constitution was that the high ecclesiastical dignity next to the bishop, who was a foreigner, was that of an archdeacon, which was hereditary in the family *Palakommatta*, which is designated by tradition as the first family converted by the Apostle Thomas. The Syrian language was introduced as the language of divine service, and has remained so up to the present day. These innovations led to a split between the old and the new Christians. After the death of Mar Thomas, this split even threatened the very existence of the Indian Church; but its ruin was averted by the arrival of the Nestorians. The early presence of the Nestorians in Southern India is proved by peculiar inscriptions on crosses and tablets, which are written in Pehlevi characters. When Roman Catholic missionaries, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, established a mission in India, they found the Indian Christians highly esteemed and in possession of lands and of the right of levying tolls. The rights of the Christians had been engraved, in 825, in the Old Tameel language, which was first deciphered by the German missionary, Grundert. The Portuguese were astonished to find in South India large congregations of Christians, especially on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The number of Indian Christians at that time was estimated at 200,000; the number of parishes at 1,500. For some time religious peace prevailed between the new-comers and the old Christians, but this came to an end when the Jesuits arrived, and, in 1541, established in Goa the seminary of the Holy Faith, which was subsequently called a university, and was visited by large numbers of natives. The Jesuits, aided by the power of Portugal and the Inquisition, made great efforts to subject the native Christian population to the rule of the Pope; but they resisted until 1599, when

the Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes, of Goa, at the Synod of Diamper, or Udiampar, prevailed upon about three fourths of the Nestorians to join the Church of Rome and adopt the Latin rite. The adherents of the old faith were cruelly persecuted, their priests were deprived of an opportunity to receive an education; they became very ignorant, and the laity became indifferent. In 1664 the Roman Catholic Church numbered eighty-four congregations, while thirty-two Old Syrian congregations kept aloof from a union with Rome. In 1653 the archdeacon of the family of Palakommata placed himself at the head of an agitation for repealing the act of union, and he applied to the Patriarch of Antioch, who resided in the Convent of Saphran, near Mardin, for sending him a bishop. In 1665 the Syrian bishop, Mar Gregory, landed in Malabar; but as the Patriarch of Antioch was a Jacobite, not a Nestorian, the Indian Christians became likewise Jacobites. The peace which in 1662 was concluded between Holland and Portugal put an end to the power of the Portuguese in India and to the influence of the Jesuits. Among the native Jacobites the archdeacon received the position of bishop. According to the census of 1872 the total number of Christians on the Malabar coast exceeded 600,000; among these are 64,000 United Syrians and 400,000 Independent Jacobites; the Protestant missionaries claim 20,300 converts; the Roman Catholics about 200,000. In the two native States of Cochin (601,114 inhabitants) and Travancore (2,311,379 inhabitants) every fifth inhabitant is a Christian. This shows a larger percentage of Christian population than the Roman Empire had at the time of the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, when their number was estimated at one tenth of the total population. The social position of the Christians is also very high. They equal in rank the Brahmans, and the contempt with which they treat some lower classes of the people as slaves has frequently been rebuked by the missionaries. They are chiefly employed in agriculture and commerce; as merchants they are highly esteemed for their honesty. Like the Christians of Kurdistan, they called themselves Nazareni. The Hindus add contemptuously Mophla, (Mappilla), the name of a Mohammedan sect on the coast of Malabar, and in the census of Madras they have been returned as Mohammedan Christians. The priests are called Kassanar, from the Syrian word Quasis, Presbyter, and the Malabar word Nair, which signifies a prominent man; the deacons are called Shamshana; the native bishop, Mar Athanasius, who holds this position since 1844, is still a member of the old family of Palakommatta. Formerly all the priests were unmarried, but since their income, which was formerly altogether insufficient, has been greatly improved owing to the efforts of the English authorities, a large percentage of the village priests are married, and many scandals which used to arise from the immoralities of the celibate priest have now ceased. Education is making progress; in 1878 the village schools had 27,000 scholars and an ecclesiastical seminary provides for the education of priests. In their prayers, they begin more and more to substitute for the Old Syrian language, which is not understood by the laity, the lan-

guage of the country, Malayalim,* but the bishop, Mar Athanasius, is opposed to the desire of the English missionaries to use the native language for the whole of the divine service.

As the Jacobites in Asiatic Turkey are very poor, the Patriarchs of Antioch always endeavored to obtain as large amounts of money as possible from the Churches of Malabar. If the amount sent did not come up to their expectation, it was regarded by them as a proof of unfaithfulness on the part of the Indian Metropolitan. He was frequently deposed from office, and a successor sent. In 1848 there were at the same time five Metropolitans. None of them was recognized by the government. In 1857 the Directory of the East India Company ordered one out of the country, and declared that the Indian Christians had a right to acknowledge whom they pleased. In 1866 the native bishop, Mar Athanasius, chose a coadjutor likewise from the family of Palakommatta. These indications of defection alarmed the Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius. He went, in 1874, to England to vindicate his claim. In 1875 he went to India, where his arrival, which had no precedent in the history of the Indian Church, produced great confusion.

About the same time the Patriarch of the United Syrian or Chaldean Church, which is connected with Rome, made an attempt to extend his jurisdiction over the native Indian Christians of Malabar, who thus far had been subject to the Latin Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. It appears that many of these Christians had expressed a wish to have native bishops like Mar Athanasius, and that, in 1856, an embassy had been sent to Bagdad, the residence of the Chaldean Patriarch. The latter sent, in 1875, a bishop of his rite, Mellus, to India, but the Papal delegate at once pronounced against this bishop the sentence of excommunication. The government of the two countries in which these native Christians live, Cochin and Travancore, have issued proclamations, in which they refer the rival bishops to the courts. The final decision of the latter had not yet been given when Mr. Schlagintweit wrote this part of his work. These conflicts of jurisdiction gave rise to a new sect, called the "Six Years' People," which was founded in 1875, and predicted the second arrival of Christ for the year 1881. The sect has been joined by the Anglican clergyman, Justus Joseph, and several Brahmans who had been converted by him.

To the above abstracts from the work of Professor Schlagintweit we add a few facts from other sources. Enumerations, to ascertain the religious creed of the inhabitants of India, were taken in the various provinces during the years 1868 to 1876: in Berar and the Punjab 1868, in Oude 1869, in Ajmere and Coorg 1871, and in the remaining provinces from 1872 to 1876. A verification of all these returns, with the results of the general census of India, furnished the following classification of the leading creeds in the provinces under British administration:—

* In this language, the Hungarian Jesuit, Hanxleden, who died in Malabar on March 20, 1782, composed several excellent poems. His history of Saint Genevieve in verse is still a popular book among the native Christians.

Creeds.	Numbers.	Creeds.	Numbers.
Hindus.....	189,248,563	Christians.....	897,216
Mohammedans.....	40,882,537	Other Creeds.....	5,102,823
Buddhists.....	2,832,851	"Religion Not Known".....	1,977,400
Sikhs.....	1,174,436	Total.....	191,065,445

The following table shows the number of Christians in each of the provinces of India under British administration:—

Provinces.	Christians.	Provinces.	Christians.
Bengal.....	90,763	Berar.....	903
Assam.....	1,947	Mysore.....	25,676
North-west Provinces.....	22,196	Coorg.....	2,410
Ajmere.....	807	British Burmah.....	52,299
Oude.....	7,761	Madras.....	533,760
Punjab.....	22,154	Bombay.....	126,063
Central Provinces.....	10,477	Total.....	897,216

It must be remembered that all the above figures refer to the provinces under direct British administration, and do not include the feudatory or native States. The latter have an aggregate population of 48,298,895. Two of the States of this class have already been referred to, as containing a Christian population of about 600,000. This, alone, would raise the Christian population of British India at 1,500,000. It must further be remarked that, as a general rule, the census appears to enumerate as Christians only those who have formally been received into one of the Christian denominations, not those who had declared their intention to become, Christians or who regularly attended Christian service. The total force of the Protestant Missionary Societies in India was represented, in 1879, by 1,833 ordained and assistant missionaries, and 88,149 communicants. The number of persons actually connected with Protestant communities in India, Ceylon, and Burmah was reckoned, in 1879, at 460,000. The nominally (Protestant) Christian population was estimated in the same year at 2,500,000, (*Baptist Missionary Magazine*, July, 1879.)

The organization of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in India* begins with the establishment of the Portuguese bishopric of Goa in 1532. In 1557 Goa was made an archbishopric, and in the same year two other episcopal sees, Cochin and Malacca, were established. When a part of the Christians of Saint Thomas united with Rome, in 1509, their archbishopric Angamala was placed, in 1600, as suffragan see under the archbishop of Goa. In 1605 it was again made an archbishopric, but the see was transferred to Cranganor. In 1606 a new bishopric was established on the eastern coast at Meliapor. Other suffragan sees of Goa were established, in 1576 at Macao, on the coast of China, in 1588 at Funay, in Japan, in 1690 at Peking and Nankin. Then the ecclesiastical province embraced India, China, Japan, the Indian Islands, and Eastern Africa, exceeding, in point of territory, every other ecclesiastical province of the Roman Catholic Church. The King of Portugal had a right of nominating the bishops of these sees, but as this right was not exercised and the suffragan sees remained generally vacant, the Pope appointed, with-

*The following information on the Roman Catholic Church is chiefly taken from an article in the *Katholische Missionen*, 1880, January and May.

out the consent of Portugal, vicars apostolic to exercise the episcopal functions. The first vicar apostolic was appointed for Malabar in 1659, and many others followed, until Pope Gregory XVI., in 1838, confined the archdiocese of Goa to the Portuguese possessions Gujerate and a few Portuguese congregations in British India, dissolved the bishoprics of Cranganor, Cochin, Meliapore, and Malacca, and divided the whole of the British possessions among the vicariates apostolic. For nearly two hundred years the Portuguese government, aided by most of the Portuguese bishops and priests in India, made a violent opposition to the measures adopted by the Pope, but they have finally recognized their resistance as useless. In 1879 the Church had in British India, inclusive of the Portuguese and French possessions, twenty-two dioceses, nearly all called vicariates apostolic. The aggregate population is given as about 1,450,000.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

AMONG the theological text-books used at the German universities Hagenbach's Encyclopedia and Methodology has long occupied a prominent place. Through the author's lifetime it has passed through nine editions, and now, after his death, the tenth edition has been published by Prof. E. Kautzsch, (*Encyclopadie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften*. Leipz. 1880.) The book is especially complete in its literary department, and it is almost indispensable to those who wish to inform themselves on the entire literature on any particular subject.

No less than three histories of Christian missions are now in the course of publication in Germany: 1. Dr. Burckhardt's *Kleine Missionsbibliothek*, the second edition of which is published by Dr. Grundemann, the well-known author of the *Missionsatlas*; 2. *Missionsbilder*, published at Calw; and, 3, the "History of Christian Missions among Pagans," by Dr. Kalkar, one of the foremost theologians of Denmark, who publishes simultaneously with the Danish original a German translation. Dr. Burckhardt's *Missionsbibliothek* is especially noted for its valuable geographical and ethnological introductions. The *Missionsbilder* are edited by Dr. Gundert, one of the best informed German writers on Christian missions. Dr. Kalkar's history is the only one which embraces within its scope the Roman Catholic missions, the two other confining themselves to the history of Protestant missions.

Tiele's "Outline of the History of Religion," which was originally published in 1876 in the Dutch language, at Amsterdam, and in 1877 appeared in an English translation, has now been translated into German by Dr. Weber, (*Compendium der Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin. 1880.) The work is generally regarded as the best on the subject which has thus far appeared. The German translation is indebted to the author for several

new contributions, and the section which relates to the later history of Brahmanism has been entirely rewritten. The author of the work is Professor of the General History of Religion at the Dutch University of Leyden. All the Dutch universities have a special chair for the general history of religion, and after this model a special professorship for the same study has been established at the College de France, at Paris, and at the Catholic University of the same city.

FRANCE.

A work of great learning on the primitive history of the human race has been published by Prof. Franc Lenormant, a scholar already very favorably known by a number of other works on ancient history, (*Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux*. Paris, 1880.) As the title indicates, the book compares the accounts of the Bible on the origin of man with the traditions of other Oriental nations. The first volume contains the time from the creation of man to the deluge; other volumes are to follow. The matter given in this first volume is divided into the following groups: The creation of man, the fall, the cherubim and the flaming sword, the fratricide and the foundation of the first city, the Sethites and the Cainites, the ten antediluvian patriarchs, the children of God and the daughters of men, the deluge. Numerous appendices contain translations and partly explanations of the most important documents from which the parallel accounts have been taken, as the cuneiform texts, Berosus, Sanchoniathon, Damascus, etc. A very explicit index facilitates the use of the book. At the head of his preface the author places the words of Montaigne: *C'est ici, lecteurs, un livre de bonne foy*; and he wishes to indicate by them that his investigations do not conflict with the belief in the Christian revelation and in the Catholic Church, to which the author belongs.

A new periodical has been begun in France, which is to be exclusively devoted to the history of religions. Its full title is: *Revue de l'histoire des religions publiée sous la direction de M. Maurice Vernet avec le concours de MM. A. Barth, A. Bouché-Leclercq, P. Decharme, etc.* Every year six numbers will be published. Its character will be exclusively historical and polemical, and dogmatic articles will be excluded. As the history of the Christian Church has already special organs, this periodical will chiefly treat of the ancient and modern religions of the East and the ancient religions of the West. It will, however, make an exception in regard to the introduction of Christianity in the middle and in the north of Europe. Every number of the Review will have seven sections: 1. Essays; 2. Critical reviews of recent literature by several contributors, as, on Ancient Egypt, by Maspero; on Old-Aryan Mythology and the Indian Religions, by A. Barth; on Assyria, by St. Gayard; on Greece, by Decharme; on Italy, by Bouché-Leclercq; on the Mythology of Gaul, by Gardoz; on Judaism and Christianity, by the editor-in-chief; 3. Notices and Documents; 4. Comptes Rendus; 5. Contents of other Periodicals; 6. Chronicles; 7. Bibliography.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Pre-adamites; or, A Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam; together with a Study of their Condition, Antiquity, Racial Affinities, and Progressive Dispersion over the Earth. With Charts and other Illustrations. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D. 8vo., pp. 500. Chicago: S. G. Grigg & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

Of Dr. Winchell's successive publications none appears to have made so powerful an impression upon the public mind as the present magnificent volume. With the single exception of the uncandid and indiscriminate depreciation against the book, or rather against its author, in the "Independent," every notice which we have seen in the various periodicals, secular, religious, literary, or scientific, has been courteous and appreciative. These various notices clearly indicate that, however popular fancy may be excited by the disturbing utterances of science, a real and deep interest is felt in behalf of a real adjustment between science and Scripture. The great mastery of the vast subject manifested in the work, and the boldness, frankness, and sincerity of the spirit, will command the attention of even those who are not ready to adopt the conclusions of the volume in its attempt at furnishing at least one method of reconciliation. Without claiming to measure swords with an expert on his own grounds, we venture to state wherein his solutions, which are really addressed *ad populum*, do not convey a clear conviction to our own mind as one of the people.

The book does honor to the enterprising Chicago house that issues it by its entire style of material and execution, and its copious illustrations, among which especially is a fine theoretical map of the origin and migrations of the race, after the example of Haeckel, but with modifications by Dr. W. that make it truly his own. We may best illustrate Dr. Winchell's scheme under guidance of this map. Assuming then that our race takes origin at the now submerged land of Lemuria, of which Madagascar is an unburied remnant, our author traces the various routes of migration over the earth. From this primordial spot, first, there departs a line eastward to Australia, and thence over the Pacific isles to South America; and this marks the track of the earliest and lowest of the human race, the *Australians*. Next, westward curves a line into the southern half of Africa, cutting various graceful flourishes, and ending with an arrow's head at various points, and this is the next earliest and lowest race, the *Negroes*. The third line,

of a brown color, shoots up northward, and sweeps over all northern Europe and North America, symbolizing the great brown Mongoloid race. Finally a briefer line, ascends to western Asia, called the Dravidian; but as it begins to turn its course from north to west, it changes its color from dark brown to bright red, indicating that the Dravidian had become Caucasian, and is now curving his beautiful lines over the lands of modern Christendom. Our Adamic race is, therefore, traceable back to Lemuria through the Dravidian, and the change from dark to red, marks when and where by an upward development the Adamic race begins. Now in Genesis the word Adam in the Hebrew has really two meanings. It is a race name, designating a people, and a personal, designating an individual. As a race name, Adam begins with the reddening of the Dravidians into Adamites: as a personal name, Adam designates the earliest ancestor known to the Jews.

The process by which the transition is made from Dravidian to Adamite is a purely natural one, and is suggested to be by an *albinosis*. We are told, (p. 349:) "Dr. John Davy, after describing a fine Albino girl of Ceylon, adds: 'It is easy to conceive that an accidental variety of this kind might propagate, and that the white race of mankind is sprung from such an accidental variety. The East Indians are of this opinion; and there is a tradition or story among them in which this origin is assigned to us.' " But if a white race thus suddenly springs up by an *albinosis*, why not a black race by a *melanosis*?

Let us now suppose that a Dr. Rawlinson, assuming the literal biblical Genesis narrative with the Septuagint chronology, and a degeneracy of the race from its origin, should construct a counter ideal racial map. Assuming, not with Dr. W., that "man is a tropical animal," but that he is a semi-tropical *being*, created at the center, most suited to his highest nature, he finds that as the race diverges from that center it deteriorates under various depressing conditions, physical and moral, external and internal. He shows, from Peschel perhaps, how rapidly immigrations can take place in early ages when men are hardy and adventurous, and yet how large a share of the earth is found unoccupied even in late prehistoric times. He shows how much more plastic the race was in filling out its programme of possible divergences in the rapidly incurred conditions, and how permanent the traits acquired by the divergent varieties of race often become. He may find no great difficulty in showing how, after the flood, the three

sons of Noah may, within the thousand or two years from the flood permitted by the Septuagint, have sent the Mongol, the Negro, and the Australian, with all their present characteristics, to about their present abodes. Guided by that wonderful chart of ethnology, the tenth chapter of Genesis down to its date, he justly presumes that it must be supplemented by later history. The projecting lines of that chart are pointers, and Dr. R. finds it easy by simply developing them in their indicated directions to bring his pencil to every point of present human habitation.

Two points, especially, will Dr. W. make against this rival map. *First*, evolution, whether by genetic derivation, or by divine fiat, is always ascending, so that we must find the earliest race in the lowest; and, *second*, the rate of change in races is immensely slow, so that ages on ages are necessary for the production of the present divergences of races. On both these points, with our present light, we are disposed to concur with Rawlinson.

On the *first* of these two points Dr. W. has written an able chapter, which, after our repeated reading, seems to us to miss the real point. *Species*, we admit, do as a general law, both by the Mosaic and Darwinian evolution, *ascend*; but certainly *varieties* of species do abundantly *degenerate*. Now Rawlinson may affirm that man is a species, and all his degenerations are varieties, and varieties, even in the animal world, are largely degenerate. Says Professor Cabell, of the University of Virginia, ("Unity of Mankind," Carters, 1859,) "Swine in some countries have degenerated into races, which in singularity far exceed any thing that has been found strange in bodily variety in the human race." That seems a pregnant sentence. Here is a vast animal species whose Adam comes first, whose varieties degenerate down an inclined plane to the lowest extreme. Professor Winchell's law seems to be reversed. The highest is first, the lowest is last. Adam we find at the summit, degenerating through the Mongoloid and the Negro to the Australian.

Our *second point* is a query whether the formation of a new variety requires a long period of time. And here, first, we can easily conceive a superior plasticity to variation in a young species. Endowed within itself with a certain range of possible variations, the human species quickly, by emigration ranging through the various conditions of the earth, may early fill out its programme of possible variations, and then the varieties may by continuance acquire almost the fixedness of species. A new

variety may start in a single individual. Seth Wright's celebrated new breed of sheep, whose legs were too short to leap fences, commenced with a single birth. And the following late and well-authenticated fact raises a grave suspicion that in the human species a variation of the extremest kind may commence with a single individual. We adduce it from the "Philadelphia Press" of May 2, 1880.

In the year 1879 there was born to Mary Salter, the Irish-descended wife of John Salter, an Englishman by descent, residing in number 1307 Lemon-street, Philadelphia, a beautiful boy with ruddy face and profuse silky-brown hair, who was baptized two weeks later. In a few days his face began to darken, his hair grew stiff and crisp and his eyes black. "At last he became as black as a full-blooded negro," and was attacked with spasms. Dr. Reynolds, of Eighteenth and Poplar streets, was called, and pronounced it a case of entire *melanosis*. On being visited by a "Press" reporter, Dr. Reynolds "said the case was a difficult one to explain, as there is so little medical literature on the subject. It was, he said, a case of what he would call melanosis, or over-production of pigment. Melanin, as the pigment giving color to the hair and eyes, and which gives the boy's skin its dark color, is called, is thought to be produced in the brain, the nerve center of the body. In this case there is a great over-production. The opposite state of affairs is where a negro turns white, or where portions of a white person turn even whiter. This is caused by a lack of production of pigment, and is termed *leucoderma*. It is produced by nerve affection.* Colored persons with white spots upon them are not rare, neither are cases of white people having parts of their body whiter than the rest. The doctor said that the case under consideration was the first known where the whole body had become black." "I first saw the boy," said he, "when he was thirteen months' old. He was then as black as any negro, but he is now growing lighter, and when he relapsed in general health he grew darker again; but, on the whole, he has gradually lost his dark color, and will eventually be white." Future research may show that such sudden change from one extreme of race to another, at first perhaps as a disease, is no impossibility. Dr. Winchell suggests that the Caucasian came from the Dravidian by an albinosis. We prefer to suspect that the negro may have degenerated from the Caucasian, in accordance with the law of variety, by a melanosis. Dr. W. believes it incredible that the negro type could have arisen within

five hundred and nine years from Noah. We can easily be made to believe that the surplus pigmentation may have taken place in the family of Noah and in the person of Ham, the black.

Dr. W. distinguishes race inferiority into *structural* and *cultural*; and he pronounces the negro inferiority to be structural. But does not the cultural often, and we may say always, become structural? To show how suddenly such degeneration could take place, we quoted an instance from Brace of its occurrence in fifty years. This Dr. W. subjected to a criticism too extended for our brief room for reply, and we take another instance. In 1611 a body of Ulster Irish were driven by war into a mountainous region, and exposed to the worst effects of hunger and ignorance, the two great brutalizers of the human race. "The descendants of these exiles are now distinguished physically by great degradation. They are remarkable for open, projecting mouths, with prominent teeth and exposed gums; and their advancing cheek bones and depressed noses bear barbarism on their very front. In Sligo and Northern Mayo the consequences of the two centuries of degradation and hardship exhibit themselves in the whole physical condition of the people, affecting not only the features but the frame. Five feet two inches, on an average—pot-bellied, bow-legged, abortively featured, their clothing a wisp of rags—these specters of a people that were once well-grown, able-bodied, and comely, stalk abroad into the daylight of civilization, the annual apparition of Irish ugliness and Irish want." Here observe how *cultural* deterioration became *structural*, how truly negroid some of these traits were, and in how brief a time it was accomplished on one of the most florid types of the Caucasian race.

Dr. W., however, admits deteriorations, but affirms that they are always only local. But how do we know that? We see continent-wide inferiorities to the highest type. How do we know that those inferiorities are not deteriorations? We have carefully read and re-read his able chapter in which this affirmation occurs and find an entire omission of answer. Looking over the surface of mankind, we find constant elevations and deteriorations; and when we ask for the proof that the deteriorations precede the elevations we get no response. Why may not Rawlinson be right in taking loftiest position with Adam, and looking down the vast inclined plane of the race, varied by hills and vales, to the lowest Australian level, conceive that the highest is first, the last lowest?

Dr. Winchell gives us an admirable analysis of the dispersion of the sons of Noah, as furnished by the Hebrew record, and does

his best to build a solid fence between the Hamite, Cushites, or Ethiopians, and the negroes. Yet he is obliged to confess "that it is difficult to tell where the Hamite ends and the Negro begins." What a fair basis for the conclusion that the Negro is but a more deeply African Cushite! That the Cushite was pretty much a Negro is clear from the query, "Can an Ethiopian [Cushite] change his skin?" And there seems just excuse for assuming that the Negro of the slave-trade is the extreme result of the local miasms of Africa, mostly south of Sahara, working upon susceptible Cushite constitutions, rendered greatly permanent by long continuance. Brace says: "All travelers agree that the color of the Africans, to a certain degree, changes according to the heat and dampness, the same tribe (as the Batoka, for instance) being black or lighter colored as they are exposed in a greater or less degree to these two influences. The lines of language, as, for instance, those of the Kaffir family, cut across the distinctions of color, and one undoubted race may embrace persons of jet black and others with unmixed blood of a light copper color. . . . What is called the 'negro type'—that is, the low type of the coast of Guinea—is comparatively the exception." He quotes an eminent *savant*, Abbadie, a resident for eleven years in Eastern Africa, as saying, "It would be impossible to say where the negro begins and the red man ends." And Peschel puts it still more pointedly: "In some tribes the nose is pointed, straight, or hooked; even 'Grecian profiles' are spoken of, and *travelers say with surprise that they cannot perceive any thing of the so-called negro type among the negroes.*" May we not also wonder that Dr. W. lays so much stress on the "structural" inferiority of the negro, inferred from the slaver's "natural selection" of the most depressed of the race? The first Negro, then, if he did not come immediately from the family of Noah, was the first Cushite upon whose internal predispositions, the malarial and other necessary conditions were so superinduced as to complete the melanosis. Cabell tells us that the Nubians of the White Nile were once negroes, transported by the Emperor Diocletian from a western oasis to their present locality, where they have by reversion become virtual Egyptians in a few centuries. The Magyars, or Hungarians of Europe, the countrymen of Kossuth, were originally a tribe of low Mongoloids, and it has taken but one thousand years for them, boasting of their pure blood, to become about the finest race of Europe. They have required but that brief period to bridge the chasm between the Mongoloid and the virtual Cauca-

sian, yet not without some interesting traces in their persons of their origin. Cabell remarks that some believe that they see signs of negro advance in America; but he doubts it, as there has not been sufficient time. If we give the Magyar one thousand years, give the negro from five to fifteen hundred.

There nevertheless remains the linguistic separation between the Hamite and the negro as a difficulty in the identification of the two as one race. But this is a very imperfectly explored field. At present it seems that different sections of the same great Negro race may be as totally separate in language from each other as they are from the Hamites. African plasticity may here be a law to itself.

In his depreciation of the negro, induced not by prejudice or inhumane feeling, but by the demands of his theory, Dr. W. is, we think, extreme. "Mental sluggishness" is surely a trait which few of us would attribute to the negro. Activity, even to volatility, we should sooner ascribe. The Negro is the only race which even in slavery was ever complimented as requiring laws forbidding his education to prevent his attaining ascendancy. As to his character since his emancipation, Dr. Ruffner, for ten years Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Virginia, reports: "He wants to do right, and is the most amiable of races. The negro craves education, and I believe his desire has increased; it certainly has not diminished. He makes fully as great sacrifices to send his children to school as the laboring classes of the whites. The civilization of the race is progressing, and *even faster than his thoughtful friends anticipated*. The negroes are a highly improvable race. A surprising proportion of enlightened, right-thinking men have already risen from their ranks; men who have taken a respectable position; some in learned professions, some in editing and printing newspapers, and some in management of business."

Our strong objection to Dr. W.'s method of reconciliation is that it seems not so much to reconcile Scripture with science as to abolish the former and substitute the latter. The divine primordial instauration of Adam and Eden shrinks to a myth and a nothing. A gigantic roller is propelled over all the narrative; leveling it to flat naturalism. The same roller passing over the incarnation would leave us with the gospel of Renan. Such is not the result in Dr. Winchell's mind, but such is the tendency upon the general mind. Not atheism, but pure naturalism, is the outcome of Darwinism.

Dr. Winchell deserves the public thanks for his manly repudiation of the geologic man of Europe. Under the blows delivered upon said man by the hands of Southall, Dawson, and our author, his state of disintegration is pretty complete. As to the miocene man predicted by Dr. W., he is but an antithetic phantasm to the Lemurian man. Neither have any place in science, natural or biblical. So that there is at present but slight necessity for any biblical adjustment to pre-adamiteism. And as for Darwinism, it seems at the present hour to lie in a state of disproof. Says Virchow: "I should be neither surprised nor astonished if the proof were produced that man had ancestors among other vertebrate animals. But I am bound to declare that every positive advance which we have made in the province of prehistoric anthropology has actually removed us farther from the proof of such a connection." If that proof comes, "the abrupt transformism" of Naudin, with the aid of Mivart, Wallace, and our author, may supply all due adjustments both to the Mosaic evolution of the first chapter of Genesis and the supernatural Edenic instauration of the second. A written document, as a will in a court of justice, is often interpreted by the surrounding external circumstances of its first writing. If the adjacent facts are thus, the meaning is thus; if otherwise, otherwise. And so the Hebrew records may await their true interpretation by scientific facts. At present we prefer provisionally to stand with Rawlinson upon the Septuagint chronology and a created personal Adam.

The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature. With Special Reference to Certain Recondite, Neglected, or Disputed Passages. In Twelve Lectures, delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876-79. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. 8vo., pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Born almost within sight of Plymouth Rock, with the richest of Puritan blood in his veins, Dr. Dexter felt an innate "mission" for being the historiographer of Congregationalism. "The maggot in the brain" bit sharply, and he has performed his arduous task with what appears great ability and success, of furnishing to the world a clearer and fuller view of the facts of the genesis and evolutions of Independency, than it has heretofore possessed. The newness of his performance arises largely from the greater accessibility of the past literatures of the periods under review. Not only in America, but in England, Holland, and France, new sources of historic information have opened be-

fore his active researches. Even bishops and archbishops have revealed hitherto concealed stores of documents. And he was specially aided by the remarkable fact that in the days of intolerance the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York had preserved collections of Puritan books and pamphlets for the writing of which they had "harried and hanged" the authors. It would thence seem that these prelates were not ashamed of their own doings, as not unwilling that the books they denounced should speak to future ages for themselves.

The magnitudinous volume is not only a book, but we might well call it a series of books. First we have an Introduction, an interesting book of sixteen octavo pages. Next we have an Analysis of twenty pages, very exact and convenient, not only for reference by the student to individual topics, but for the reviewer, who can get an insight and oversight of the whole subject without minutely reading the whole volume. Then we have the central book itself, the History. Finally, we have an Appendix, a book of three hundred and twenty-six pages.

Dr. Dexter's style is strongly individualistic and incisive, leading us often through long and interrupted periods with a clearly announced sense at the end. And strongly in love with his subject and his heroes as he is, straining apology sometimes to the utmost tension, he is conscientiously alive to the sacred obligations of historic truth. His work has a special interest for Congregationalists; yet it has a great value for all Christian scholars, and even sheds some new light over the history of England during its period which the secular historian must recognize. If Dr. Dexter would separate the catalogue of publications from the main volume, reduce the latter to a duodecimo form, and diminish thereby its price, he might send the history proper broadcast among the people, and so largely increase its sale and its general usefulness.

Congregationalism and Prelacy are opposite extremes of ecclesiasticism. And as Prelacy, sustained by centuries of historic supremacy, was reigning in its full despotic power, it was to be expected that when the time of discussion came the opposite extreme should develop itself with mighty force. Great were the services rendered mankind by the insurgent movement in defining and asserting, at whatever cost, the right of a free conscience; a right triumphant in America and struggling toward its triumph among all the nations of the earth. Profoundly honest, though profoundly wrong, was the prelatic side. For ages it had

understood that Prelacy and Christianity were identical, and this breaking up its organism seemed chaos back again. Recusance, therefore, was crime to be punished, and the assertion of general freedom for recusance was simply the maintenance of anarchy. It became a bloody contest, and for a brief while Independency became supreme. Dr. Dexter, with profound historic honesty, doubts whether its speedy downfall did not save it from contradicting, in the day of its power, the free principles it had asserted in its years of weakness. Be that as it may, it is certain that against that supremacy the recoil of the people of England was terrible; terrible in more senses than one. Independency was a better rebel than ruler.

When Episcopacy is completely abolished and a Church crystallizes into Congregationalism, the defects of the latter disclose themselves. A commonwealth is formed in which *rights* are well secured; but there are a general disconnection and inefficiency. But the free Episcopacy without prelacy of primitive times being restored, there is less jealousy of rights and more earnestness for enterprise and achievement. Congregationalism is a *commonwealth*, but such an Episcopacy, is an *army*, where a definite object is to be accomplished, a victory to be won is kept in view. The victory comes as the recompense of the resignation of "rights." It is thus that sacrifice often attains a higher reflex good than the most conservative selfishness.

Letters on the Eucharist. Addressed to a Member of the Church of Rome, formerly a Preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. By E. O. PHINNEY, A.M., M.D. 12mo., pp. 393. Baltimore: Published for the Author, by D. H. Carroll, Methodist Book Depository. 1880.

Dr. Phinney is an *alumnus* of Middletown of long years standing, graduated under the auspices of President Fisk. As his doctorate is medical rather than theological it could hardly be anticipated that he would make so bold an incursion into the polemical field. Into this trenchant raid he was led by peculiar circumstances. A friend of his, a Methodist preacher, not only seceded to Rome, but sent back his argumentations to his old acquaintance, requiring them to follow his example, questioning their salvation if they refused. Dr. Phinney investigated the subject thoroughly and fundamentally, as became a thinker, a scholar, and a profoundly honest man. The result of his examination appears in the admirable volume before us.

The title does not perhaps sufficiently disclose to the reader the

fact that the book is truly a treatise upon the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Our author selected this point of discussion as being the hinge upon which conversions often turn. To this question, therefore, he applies himself, ranging through Scripture, and the early fathers, and through the domains of logic and metaphysics, where the battle is hotly contested. He first devotes three full chapters to a discussion, exegetical and patristical, of a passage celebrated in this controversy, the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John, making large use, with full credit, of Professor Turner's essay on the chapter, and in the end he shows that both a true analysis of the text and the authority of the primitive Church disprove the physical sense of that discourse. He next examines our Saviour's words at the instituting of the supper and clearly disproves the physical interpretation. He discusses in succession the dicta of both the anti-Nicene and post-Nicene fathers and finds no transubstantiation. The topics of figurative language and symbol, the evidences of the senses, the half-communion, the sacrifice of the mass, the worship of the sacrament, and, finally, the late historical rise of the dogma of transubstantiation, pass under successive and sharply critical review. An Appendix is added, presenting in the original Greek or Latin all the quotations from the fathers made in the text in English, enabling the learned reader to verify the accuracy of his translation. The style is concise, clear, animated, and exact. We know no monograph on the subject that presents the argument in so conclusive and concise a form.

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit ; or, The Philosophy of the Divine Operation in the Redemption of Man. By JAMES B. WALKER, D.D., Author of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," etc. 12mo., pp. 225. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Dr. Walker's first eminent work, "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," gave a new synthesis of thought to the Christian world, and established his character as an original and suggestive thinker. His successive volumes manifest, though not in an equal degree, the same power of suggestive thought, and are well worthy the attention of thoughtful Christians. The present volume deals with a subject of primal importance, both theoretical and practical, with great clearness and definiteness of thought, and may be well studied as a regulator of thought on the subject by preacher and people.

Mind, being generic, whether divine or human, there is possible

a spiritual communion between God and man. Our author's object is, therefore, to trace through reason and Scripture the real mode of such communion in the actual divine administration, and thence its realization in the human experience. In successive chapters he discusses the impartation of the Spirit in the various modes, to Christ, to the apostles, to believers, and to the impenitent.

Dr. Walker is strongly individualistic; he speaks with a disrespect in these days of "creeds," and (*horresco referens*) of commentators. We doubt whether his views of the Trinity are extremely Athanasian; we dissent from his impeachment of the apostolicity of Matthias; we query as to his illustration of the incarnation by the creation of a new species; and we think our own exposition of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew better than his. But in his guardianship against fanaticism in regard to the Spirit, his narratives of the practical reality of the indwelling Spirit in the experiences of Christians at the present day, and in the general tenor of his argument, we recognize a very refreshing statement of the doctrine of the Spirit. The extended extract from Jeremy Taylor on this most interesting topic, is, to use a trite expression, worth the price of the book.

The First Epistle of John. A Contribution to Biblical Theology. By ERICH HAUPT. Translated, with an Introduction, by W. B. POPE, D.D., Didsbury College, Manchester. 8vo., pp. 385. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Specially imported edition by Scribner & Welford, Price, \$3.]

This volume claims to be "a contribution" rather than a commentary subject to the laws of that class of publication. Its aim is to so submit the words of St. John to an ultimate "microscopic" analysis as to obtain a clear insight into its deepest meanings. Especially does the author bring to bear his discriminative powers to bear upon the apostle's unique and most characteristic terms such as *eternal life*, *light*, *anointing*, *truth*, *love*, *anomia*, and thence deduce a view of his system of sacred thought. All this he does with a wealth of learning and a keenness of acumen, as, in the opinion of eminent critics, to furnish fresh views and rich suggestions to the scholar, the Christian thinker, and the pulpit.

Of the writer himself our translator informs us that he knows nothing except his authorship of the present, his only production. It was when first published accepted by German critics "as among the best contributions to a literature already very rich, devoted to the exposition of St. John's writings." It is noted as a specialty that he quotes no previous commentators. He does not,

like Meyer and others, incumber his pages with the varying and conflicting opinions of his predecessors, but quietly writes as if no one had ever written before him. We agree with Dr. Pope that this seems hardly "fair." To go quietly ahead appropriating every-body and thanking nobody is rather cool. Perhaps the modest author would care little if his successors should appropriate his originalities as if their own, and perhaps he would think an acknowledgment of his labors a desirable recompense for their performance.

The Daily Round. Meditation, Prayer, and Praise Adapted to the Course of the Christian Year. With an Introduction and other Additions; by the Right Rev. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D., LL.D. 16mo., pp. 412. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1880.

Says Bishop Coxe most truly, "He ministers to a fundamental want of these active and worldly times of ours, who calls the soul, every day, away from the world to the spiritual words of Scripture." A few daily, individual secret moments, filled with God and eternity, are a great regulator for the soul. Dr. Dwight, the eminent President of Yale, for years practiced the habit of daily spending a few moments in endeavoring to realize the moment of death. This recall of the soul to the solemnities of its own being, it is the purpose of this beautiful volume to aid. Its style is simple, pure, devout, avoiding all prettinesses of phrase and giving expression to the sincerest devotion. Its retention of the ecclesiastical terms for the days of the Christian year used by the elder Churches of Christendom might render it less acceptable to many Christians, as it would not have done to John Wesley.

The Life and Writings of St. John. By JAMES M. MACDONALD, D.D. Edited with an Introduction by the Very Reverend J. S. HOWSON, D.D. 8vo., pp. 486. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

This admirable effort at a full-sized portraiture of St. John we have noticed on a former occasion. The work aids us in taking the apostolic person from out the sacred haze of our biblical contemplations and making him a real and a historic character. It is modeled after Conybeare and Howson's *Life of Paul*, and is a suitable companion to that great work. We differ from the author as to the order and date of John's successive writings, and we seem to see that an inferior picture of the apostle's life-progress results from his scheme; but the Scripture student and preacher will find the work a prize in his course of study.

Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Vol. IX. Rh-St. 8vo., pp. 1083. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The learned editor remarks in his preface, "The progress has been more rapid as the task approaches completion. The tenth volume may be expected during the ensuing year." A fresh and beautiful map of the Sinaitic peninsula accompanies the volume. After completion of the regular volumes a Supplement will follow, bringing the topics down to the latest dates. And we imagine that an annual supplement might be necessary hereafter, suggesting a biblical periodical. The editor may be congratulated upon the approaching completion of his great work.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The True Story of the Exodus of Israel: Together with a Brief View of The History of Monumental Egypt. Compiled from the Work of Dr. Henry Brugsch-Bey. Edited with an Introduction and Notes. By FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD. Small 12mo., pp. 260. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.

It seems to be the aim, not wholly unsuccessful, of Mr. Underwood to furnish a popular review of Egyptology, in cheap form and accessible to the million. He writes in a fresh, clear style, has a fine enthusiasm for his subject, and presents a decidedly readable view of a fragmentary history, hitherto held uninteresting to average minds. He has, or claims to have, a heroic belief in the high antiquity of Egypt, the wonderful genius of its people, and the primitive excellence of its religion. He delights to trace the coincidences of Egyptian history with the Hebrew records. He gives a full copy of the thirty dynasties of the Tablet of Abydos, and his placing before his readers Dr. Brugsch's monograph on the Exodus, which has awakened a lively discussion, is timely.

But there are two or three points upon which we wish Mr. Underwood's work were better than it is. With decided inconsistency he first narrates the legends of Menes and his successors, as if they were valid chronology and history; and then when he comes to Senofer he confesses that king to be "the first of whom much is really known;" "his predecessors are shadows." Why then has he given such factitious reality to these "shadows" in his earlier pages? And in the fifth chapter he confesses that "for the most part a veil of impenetrable darkness rests upon the long

period down to the end of the eleventh dynasty. The twelfth dynasty stands out in a light that has *almost* the clearness of authentic history." It is this equivocation, produced by a straining after a false effect, which brings just contempt upon the so-called science of Egyptology. The first eleven dynasties are the product largely of the invention of the Egyptian priests in flattery of the Pharaohs of a long after-date, unsustained by inscribed monuments or records contemporary with the supposed personages or facts. They have no chronological validity whatever. All Brugsch himself can say is that the Egyptian public in the time of King Seti I. did believe the genealogical papyrus of that Pharaoh. But Egypt had no public mind that dared doubt what the dicta of the priests and the mandate of the despot decreed to be fact. The authoritative lie was unquestionable truth. The second point of objection to Mr. Underwood's book is his interposing in its pages opinions honestly believed doubtless by himself, but entirely offensive to many who would like to be his readers. We do not love to be told that a pantheistic invocation to the Sun was as excellent a prayer as was ever offered. Nor do we wish to read the assurance that the Egyptian moral code was as excellent as ever was published, knowing as we do that the Mosaic decalogue in its first two commands swept the whole menagerie of Egyptianism as with a besom. In our late book notice of Renouf we showed how awful an apostasy and persistent degeneracy the religion of Egypt was. We might further illustrate how the blasphemous assumptions of the Pharaohs, insulted the true Jehovah, and their crushing despotism reduced the people to a brutalized servitude. "For this same purpose have I raised thee up," said Elohim to the mad vessel fitted by his own sins for destruction. And taking as we do Jehovah's own view of Pharaoh, his religion, and his people, we cannot readily away with Mr. Underwood's.

We think there is room, without interfering with Mr. Underwood's market, for a small popular work on Egyptology. It should be written with Mr. Underwood's fresh and pictorial style, and should be rich with engraved illustrations. It should give the legends of the first eleven dynasties, as on a level with Livy's first seven Roman kings. It should furnish that coloring of the Egyptian character not only which appears from the remains, but which is shed upon it by the sacred records. The rationalistic equalizing the chronology and religion of Egypt with that of the divine revelation should be conspicuously omitted.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Science of Life ; or, Animal and Vegetable Biology. By Rev. J. H. WYTHE, A.M., M.D., Author of "Agreement of Science and Revelation," "The Microscopist," etc. 12mo.; pp. 295. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Dr. Wythe and our publishers have here given us a beautiful book on the great system of earthly life. And the first point we note is that the work is not, after the fashion growing among scientists since the days of Comte, a godless performance. Time was when, even in such works as the "Principia," a Newton thought his work incomplete without inscribing thereon a reverent acknowledgment of God. But now almost every sciolist in a book of science seems to imagine a lofty dignity in ignoring the Ruler of the Universe. But it is not science, but the scientist, that is atheistic; and we render due approbation and our thanks to the scientists who, like our author, make a most beautiful work on the works of God, a tribute of honor and worship to their divine author.

Not formally but really the work divides itself into Three Parts. Part First discusses the general principles of Life. And here our author deals with the fundamental metaphysics of Life, its nature, origin, process of parentage, primal tissue-formation, and types of construction. Here is no little room for differences of opinion and earnest discussion. To every deep thinker such chapters are full of interest. While we might differ here on some points from the author, we gladly recognize the skill with which, often in a very quiet statement, he neutralizes the sophisms of a Huxley, a Spencer, or a Darwin, and shows truth in its clear and natural light. Part Second, embracing chapters vi-x, traces the ascending genera of vegetable life. Here, by the deft engraver's art, we pass through a land of flowers. There are in this floral world so many beautiful and even cunning and funny things that we know that the divine mind has not undesignedly given to humanity a sense of the quaint and humorous. Part Third, chapters xi-xvi, begins back at the bottom, and traces the ascending terraces of the animal kingdom from the humblest Protozoa to the crowning Anthropos. Here our author well asserts, from Quatrefage, that in estimating Man, the *mind* should as truly be brought into consideration by science as the instincts and mental habits of the bees, ants, and beavers. And so estimating, Man instantaneously stands a kingdom by himself, and an apparent division of a kingdom above all

the animal kingdoms of this world, his very mental qualities being an index of his belonging to a higher state of being. And we here see with what cunning and devilish design it is that materialistic anthropologists depreciate psychology and aim at reducing all anthropology to anatomy that they may, by leaving mind out of account, brutalize humanity and extinguish the hope of immortality in the human heart. Yet we agree with our author in refusing to share in the extreme depreciation of the lower animals practiced by some more Christian writers. Concede to the animal being all that God has conferred upon him. We would not, perhaps, quite agree with him in saying that "the differences" between human and brute mind, are "of degree rather than in kind." The difference of "degree" amounts to a difference in "kind." For instance, when we recognize a moral quality in animals, as the dog, it is of a different kind from the moral quality inspired by conscience in man and regulated by the Law of eternal Right. So far, indeed, as both are manifestations of *mind* they are the same in *kind*; but so far as the *species* of mentality is concerned they are vastly different in species or *kind*, with a difference that takes hold of eternity. Hence we cannot quite, with Dr. Wythe, find the only proof of man's immortality in revelation alone. We see it in man's psychological structure. And then we also see it in man's anatomical structure, which is formed to be the adjusted organ of man's highest as well as lowest nature. His brain is the organ of immortal consciousness; his hand is the organ to perform the behests of those consciousnesses; his whole body is adjusted in accordance with those same higher consciousnesses; not, indeed, with them alone, but with an alternative capacity for executing the higher or lower behest, indicative of a responsible being.

We heartily commend Dr. Wythe's book; not only as a class-book for academic instructors, but to all our readers, who either at first study or review, would wish to be led over fields of science by an eloquent guide, through a rich pictorial pathway.

Gilbert Haven: A Monograph. By Rev. E. WENTWORTH, D.D. Delivered before the Troy Conference, April, 1880, and published at its request. 12mo., pp. 42. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

In Dr. Wentworth Gilbert Haven has a eulogist of kindred genius, quite able to do justice to the subject in the subject's own style. The "Monograph" is perhaps the best of the many tributes that have been paid to the memory of our deceased Bishop. No departed personage of our Church ever received so unani-

mous and loud a volume of eulogy and elegy at his decease. The defects of his character and career are forgotten amid the memories of his brilliancies, and, while we have had little impartial portraiture or biography we have had abundance of panegyric. The reason of this is that, now the career of the Bishop has closed, and closed most beautifully, there is felt the deep impression that, as a whole, his character was unique and heroic. His personal friends, of whom it was our happiness to have been eminently one, remember that genial smile and frankness of manner with which he could say the most tender child-like things, and eke the roughest and most cutting, without a change of expression, as if the cutting things were as kind as the most tender, with a profound interest. We have often wished that our brethren of the Church, South, could have come within the influence of his personality, and felt how truly well-wishing were his severities. We did not feel, as he very well knew, our own views, or the views of the Church, to be truly represented by his positions; but there were occasions when his voice of terrible rebuke upon iniquities in the South sounded like the voice of the prophet. Unlike Dr. Wentworth, we hold his deliverance upon the Chisholm murders as his grandest effort, pronouncing absolute sentences in a position and a power to which there could be no reply. Replied, indeed, it might be by Southern Christians and editors that themselves had no share in those execrable crimes. But they can scarce be acquitted of a submissive silence and quiet sufferance. The true way for the Southern Christian press was to second with all their might the truth and force of Bishop Haven's arraignments of those atrocities. But to the best of our recollection and belief they treated him and his utterances as hostilities, thereby virtually identifying themselves rather with the side of the criminals. That they did share in or approve those crimes we do not believe. There has been reckless and bloody Bourbonism in the South with which we believe them to have no participation or real sympathy. But they are passive and silent and the Bourbonism always has its way. The Southern Christian press ought to have taken sides with Bishop Haven in his severest denunciations against crimes that were dishonoring the South. But, instead of protests against the crimes, we have rather apologies, and condemnation against their arraigner, as if *they* were implicated by his arraignment. Of course the crime thereby becomes indorsed and respectable. We are wicked enough in the North; but the Christian forces of the North are not apologizing

for, but truly arrayed against, that wickedness. We defend nothing because it is north; we attack nothing because it is south. It will be a happy time for the South when her Christian forces shall take a bold stand and compel iniquity to cower before its rebukes. What is truly needed is the union of good men of all sections against the vices of all sections.

But it is sometimes asked by Southern Christian brethren why need we of the North trouble ourselves so much about sins in the South. And a Southern Methodist paper once drew up in eloquent language a catalogue of the rascalities of the North by way of retort. There are ample materials in the North for such catalogues. We confess those northern rascalities, condemn them, and fight against them, with all our might. But there is one vital point which in this mutual play of sectional retort our Southern brother forgets. The sins we complain of are national offenses; offenses against *our rights*; while the sins he retorts are sporadic and individual. Chisholm was murdered because he was a Republican; and so, justly, every Republican (embracing the large body of Northern Protestant Christians) feels himself to be vicariously murdered in Chisholm's person. Chisholm was murdered because he was what we are. We would have been murdered had we been in his place. And the congressmen and Presidents fraudulently or forcibly, and therefore falsely, if such there be, elected, are so elected to rule *over us*. They are criminal usurpers and trampers upon *our rights*. That is the reason the North troubles herself about these Southern sins.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Political and Legal Remedies for War. By SHELDON AMOS. Harper & Brothers 1880.

This work is not one of the philanthropic effusions which appear from time to time, and which always identify war with butchery and vulgar murder. At the same time the author, with all thinking people, recognizes war as a great evil, whose scanty good results might be attained in a better way. He thinks the progress of opinion and of civilization has been steadily toward the peaceful settlement of international difficulties. That it has not gone very far in this direction, however, is pretty clearly shown in the armed condition of Europe. After arguing that the abolition of war is not impossible, the author proceeds to state some of the causes of modern wars, which he finds in the political inequality

of States, in "systems of policy," in "peculiar mutual sensibilities of States," etc. He then treats of political and legal remedies for war, such as intervention, mediation, and arbitration, international congresses, the neutralization of States, etc. Works like the present are useful in giving form to any general sentiment which may exist in favor of settling national difficulties by peaceful means, and to a slight extent they may form public sentiment; but little more is to be expected from them. A great many remedies for war can be suggested; but the difficulty remains to get them adopted. Arbitration by some international congress would put a stop to war, if the parties would submit to it. It needs no insight to see that political economy is in general against all war; but when nations get angry economic reasons do not suffice to keep the peace. The root of unrighteous wars lies deeper than any political causes. "Wars and fightings" still come from "lusts which war in the members." Righteous wars, on the other hand, are the incarnation of justice. If universal peace can be secured by universal justice, it cannot come too soon or be too warmly welcomed. But a universal peace, founded on economic reasons only, and which consists with submission to injustice, is by no means to be desired. Incessant war would be better than such a peace. The chief value of the present work is the large insight which it gives into the history and condition of international law upon the subject.

Judge and Jury. By BENJAMIN VAUGHAN ABBOTT. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This book is best described in the author's own words as a popular explanation of leading topics in the law of the land. It does not aim to instruct lawyers, nor to enable every man to be his own lawyer, but to give a correct and readable account of the leading aspects and general principles of modern jurisprudence. With this aim the author gives an outline of the government and the courts. He then explains what the law is upon various national subjects, such as citizenship and civil rights, the Indians, the Chinese, banking and commerce, etc. The State laws upon various important topics, such as marriage, divorce, lotteries, cruelty to animals, etc., are then discussed. Finally, laws which bear on every-day life are mentioned. Under this head are given the law of driving and walking, of finding and stealing, of tumble-downs, of gas explosions, of damages resulting from the use of fire-arms and fire-works. Railroad, express, and telegraph

companies are noticed, and the corresponding laws are explained. We have not looked up the author's abundant references to the law books and court decisions; but we know of no reason for distrusting the information given. The work is exceedingly entertaining and instructive. It is not likely to encourage people to go to law, or to become their own lawyers, or to make their own wills. It is seldom that one finds so much information imparted in so pleasant a way.

Periodicals.

The National Repository for September, 1880. Editorial, "Whedon on Curry."

The editor of the Michigan Advocate, quoting the passage of the Discipline enjoining the Agents to publish books "approved by the Book Editors," seems to read it as enjoining the editor to *approve* nothing which does not precisely, in his individual judgment, coincide with the doctrines of our Church. In his view, therefore, Dr. Curry's volume, not being held by the editor as so coinciding, should have been officially excluded from publication, and thereby be suppressed. The editor is, thereby, sole judge of the doctrines of the Church; he is a living "Rule of Faith," and an absolute *Index Expurgatorius*. Now the imposing such an injunction on the editor is precisely what the General Conference has, very wisely, never done. Its wisdom has left his rule of action to his own discretion. What the present editor's rule of action is has been repeatedly stated in our Quarterly. Very uniformly a publication containing, in the editor's opinion, any variance from our established doctrines, especially from a writer of unestablished character in the Church, has been excluded. Sometimes a caveat has been inserted in the book itself. But suppose the writer be a man high in the estimation of the Church as an expositor of her doctrines, repeatedly *indorsed as such by the vote of the General Conference* even after his supposed heretical publication, and chosen as representative man to edit her highest periodicals. Suppose what he offers has already been published, either by himself or others, in our organs; and the said writer has still been reindorsed by the General Conference, and even been made a book editor to judge the orthodoxy of others. Suppose that such is the position of the said writer, and that he maintains that his said publication is truly Methodistic; shall his writings be summarily suppressed by the editor? We do not

believe, evidently the General Conference does not believe, in any such monistic censorial power. We have, therefore, repeatedly and avowedly in such cases allowed the Church to hear and judge for herself, at the same time explicitly taking exceptions in the Quarterly on those points we thought heterodox. We have, then, heretofore added that if the Church, with the whole power of her press at command, cannot right all error, it is absurd to suppose that one sole arbitrator can keep her straight. How little availing such an arbitrator would be is illustrated by the fact that had we done Dr. Curry the indignity of rejecting his book, he could himself have authorized and published it at our Western house.

Is the book editor alone blamable for allowing heresy to go unarrested? Can an Annual Conference pass a heretical member as sound, and then turn round and require the book editor to refuse to pass his work? Can a General Conference elect and re-elect a heretic, and then reprimand the book editor for not rejecting? Or can she pass a heretic Bishop, and then require the editor not to allow his heresy to be read? When all the proper authorities of the Church set their heel on heresy, then may the editor be required to toe the mark.

And these statements may serve to correct the assumptions of the Independent and the Methodist that we have opened a controversy with Dr. Curry, and that we have pronounced him, personally, "a Calvinist." We have done neither. We have, in the routine performance of our official duty, instead of excluding Dr. Curry's book from the press, simply declared our view of the anti-Arminian character of some passages of its contents. What Dr. Curry is, theologically and personally, we have not once pretended to say. What theologically *those certain passages are* we not only say, but, in our own estimation, prove. So far as our notice can be considered as controversy, it was simply a reply; a reply, namely, to a spontaneous attack by Dr. Curry twenty years ago, revived in the present volume. When the Independent, therefore, sees in this properly official notice a controversy opened against the doctor, and advises it to proceed no further, we cheerfully recognize its advice as costing nothing, and think it worth precisely first cost.

To our criticism on the passages in his book Dr. Curry makes reply in the September Repository. 1. He says that he early went through the range of the Methodist and the Arminian literature; that he accorded with the former, but was not quite so Calvinistic

as to accord with some things in the latter. To which we reply that Dr. Curry may be challenged to produce in all that range of literature any passages equivalent in fatalism to those we quoted from his book, but that such passages can be found in high Calvinistic authors alone; being, as they are, the affirmation of the very basis on which Calvinism defends itself. 2. Dr. Curry repeats, what he has formerly declared, that our volume on the Will was to him unsatisfactory. So we should of course expect. Affirming as he does the fundamental maxim of Edwards in defense of Necessity, a polemic against Edwards would scarce more suit his mind than the mind of Edwards himself. 3. Both Dr. Curry and the Methodist affirm that we have introduced our own philosophy into theology, and that the question now at issue is really not a theological but philosophical one. Both these brethren are profoundly mistaken. Free-will in Wesleyan-Arminian theology is, like theism in Christianity, both philosophy and theology identical. From the very first, and through our Church's whole theological and religious history, free-will as opposed to necessity, has been our basis, against Calvinism. That a bound will cannot be responsible, that a man cannot be damned for what he cannot help, free-agency, has been with all our fathers a Methodist fundamental. It is dismaying to see two Methodist Doctors in Divinity displaying their ignorance of so elemental a fact. 4. Dr. Curry declines to explain or defend those passages, and lets judgment go by default. He has for twenty-five years denied being a Calvinist, and complained of being so called; and when some of the passages are produced from which such opinions of his theology have arisen, he declines to answer. 5. He appeals to sympathy on the ground that calling a Methodist preacher "Calvinist" (which we have not called him) tends to render him "odious." To which we answer that it would be mounting a pretty high horse for a man to claim that when he prints Calvinism or Pelagianism in our Methodist literature, his prints must not be criticised because it makes one odious to be called a Calvinist or Pelagian. Every writer who professes to teach the Church must, in a manly way, without sympathetic appeals, meet the responsibility of his teachings. 6. Dr. Curry, however, though he does not defend, does retort. Our venerated brother finds in our own writings variations from the Wesleyan-Arminian standards. He simply so declares; but furnishes no passages. We furnish proofs without pronouncing upon the man; he pronounces upon the man, but furnishes no proofs. We may reply that we have not been under a chronic

necessity for a quarter of a century to affirm or deny what our theological personality is. We have issued twenty-four volumes of *Quarterly*, and five volumes of *Commentary*, and have had no necessity for such personal clearances. We see no such necessity in the present case.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Das Trostschreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Hebräer, kritisch wiederhergestellt, und sprachlich archaologisch, und biblisch-theologisch erläutert von Joh. H. R. BIESENTHAL, Dr. Philos. et Theol. (The Hortation of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, critically translated, and philologically, archæologically, and biblico-theologically explained.) 12mo., pp. 363. Leipzig: Verlag von Fernau. 1878.

Dr. Biesenthal is, like Neander, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, yet a devout Christian, and an earnest worker in the cause of religion. As to the volume named above, we are told by a Leipsic correspondent that "no work has issued from the press of Germany for many a day which has been so freely criticised and favorably accepted by eminent theologians of Europe." It has some unique and striking points, which we will note.

First, Dr. B. esteems it a primal error to style Hebrews "an epistle," it being properly, as he entitles it, a hortation. Next, he holds firmly and maintains bravely Paul's authorship of the book. But he believes our present copy to be a translation from Paul's work in a Hebrew original. We hope that his volume may have on this point a powerful influence in abolishing the present puerile fashion, indulged in by even evangelical commentators, of not only selling the Pauline authorship out to the rationalists, but of even making that cowardice a test of scholarship. But the most unique point is that the learned doctor translates the Greek back into the Hebrew, and so furnishes an approximation to what Paul may have written. This would have been presumption were not the Hebrew about as vernacular to the doctor as to the apostle.

Our author maintains firmly and with a large volume of proofs that Paul and no other is the author of Hebrews. The mystery that surrounds the book is simply the result of Paul's necessary attempt at concealment. To evince this he traces in successive chapters the oppressive dealings of the imperial government with all expressions of free thought, the extreme hatred of Judaism and paganism against Christianity, and finally, the special malignity of all against Paul. Hence Paul did not write a letter, with

his own name, to a particular Church, but published an anonymous manifesto, really suitable for converted Gentiles as well as Jews, to console them for the loss of their old temples and rituals, by showing them that they had a far better substitute.

There are two points in behalf of Paul's authorship of Hebrews brought out by Dr. Biesenthal with great beauty. The first is the remarkable fact that Clement of Rome, in the first century, in his Epistle largely quoted the words of Hebrews as highest authority, yet never mentions the author's name. At Rome, then, where this Epistle was long unknown and unacknowledged, there was one man, the personal friend of Paul, who knew it, venerated it, and spread abroad large paragraphs from its pages! Why did he omit the author's name? Dr. B. furnishes the only plausible reply: Clement could not reveal the secret of his friend Paul; the sacred secret of his authorship of Hebrews. And we carry this argument a little further than our learned author. The facts indicate that the Epistle was written by Paul at or near Rome, with the knowledge of a confidential few, whose salutation is given to the confidential receivers of the Epistle in xii, 24, so that Hebrews is not merely a general hortation, but also a *letter*.

The second point is Paul's remarkable use of the apologetic *some*, *τινές*, in his various epistles. The peculiarity is that where an imputation really lies heavy upon *many*, or a *majority*, or even the *whole* of a body of men, Paul's tenderness understates the fault with an extenuating *some*. The great body of Israel disbelieved; but Paul designates the unbelievers as merely a *some*. Rom. iii, 2. So Rom. iii, 8, the broken of branches were only *some*. And Rom. iii, 8, his blasphemers are merely a *some*. So 1 Cor. vi, 11, the once pagan believers are only *some*. Compare 1 Cor. viii, 7; x, 7, 8, 9, 10; xv, 12; 2 Cor. iii, 1; Gal. i, 7. Now this very peculiarly reappears in Hebrews, at iii, 16; x, 25. And this argument too tends to prove our Hebrews to be Paul's own Greek, and not a translator's.

We do not clearly see that any thing is gained by denying Hebrews to be a *letter* addressed to the mother Church of Judaism. The closing chapter is unmistakably epistolatory. We still think that we have rightly characterized the book in our notes; it begins as an oration, continues as an essay, and ends as a letter. Dr. Biesenthal's notes are very rich with oriental erudition, and we trust our scholars will closely study them with an eye to the question how far they prove the work of a translator of Paul's original Hebrew.

Theologische Ethik. Von Professor Dr. J. CHR. VON HOFMANN. Nördlingen: C. H. Beck. 1878.

Dr. Hofmann is widely known as a very original and devout scholar, and as the propounder of a very striking view of the atonement. His most extensive work is his "Commentary on the New Testament." The work before us is printed from notes on his lectures on ethics. Though quite brief—350 pages—it contains the very cream of his whole theological system. It is not "moral science" in our sense of the term; but it is a profound Biblico-speculative presentation of the question, What is the nature of the Christian relation of man to God? It is accordingly a thorough discussion, from a single stand-point, of the whole range of primary questions in theology—God, creation, man, sin, heathenism, incarnation, atonement, regeneration, Church, the sacraments, and the Christian state. We subjoin a few disconnected thoughts from Hofmann. Thus: The Protestant theologians of last century blundered when they divorced ethics from dogmatics. The separation was complete in Baumgarten, (1738.) Thenceforth, for a century, ethics was based not upon Christian truth, but upon each successive philosophy of the day. Thus, Baumgarten was dependent upon Wolf; Stäudlin, upon Kant; Marheineke, upon Hegel. The emancipation of ethics from this dependence began in Schwarz, in 1821, by the recognition of the fact that man *as regenerated* is the true subject of ethics. From this point onward dates the new ethics. The great champions of the new science are Schleiermacher, Harless, Rothe, Vilmar, Böhmer, Culmann, Palmer, Wuttke, Martensen, Oettingen, and, on the Catholic side, Hirscher, Werner, Kaulich. Again: The primitive state of man was not that of a mere moral blank, and of a purely formal freedom of will. On the contrary, man found himself at the very opening of self-consciousness under the influence of a positive bent of will. Hence if he had avoided doing violence to himself, he would have persisted in the normal life-drift in which he first found himself. This was not as yet a state of positive, essential freedom; but still it was more than mere formal freedom. It was the germ, the incipency, of essential freedom. The bent of will in which man found himself at creation included also *love* to the Creator. But it was love at the *stage of instinct*. In regard to *sin*: Satanic sin and human sin are radically different. Satanic sin arose, unsolicited, in the bosom of Satan himself; man's sin had only its secondary origin in man himself. It was not an intended breaking up of his normal relation to God. It was not a conscious and direct casting off of God. It was only indirectly so. And

as man did not absolutely cast off God *by* his sin, so God did not absolutely cast off man *for* his sin. But what *is* sin? It is any action or feeling of a created spirit which is not a virtualization of communion with God. Satan and man feel evil in very different manners. Satan feels it merely as a barrier to his hatred to God. Man, so long as redeemable, feels it *as evil*, as the fruits of sin; and he *can* wish to eschew it and turn from it. In regard to *conscience*: Satanic beings have no conscience: it has become *extinct* in them. In man conscience is a vital bond between the soul and God. Conscience is not an instructor: it is a judge. It does not teach us *what* we ought to do: it simply judges and sentences us in regard to what we *do*. A so-called erring conscience is simply man's mistaking inferences in regard to his duties. The true idea of the ethical life is that it is a virtualization of the relation of man to God, as established by Christ. All of the heresies sprang from perverting this relation. Ebionism destroyed the freedom of this relation, and re-introduced the bondage of legalism. Montanism invented hyper-Christian precepts and made them equivalent to a new revelation, thus imposing on Christian freedom impracticable demands. Gnosticism debased man's relation to God from a spiritual to a merely psychic or physical character. Manichaeism reduced it still lower—to a gross material one. Pelagianism reduced the ethical life to a purely self-generated one, thus making Christ superfluous. Predestinationism shut out the subject from all participation in his own ethical life, thus robbing the ethical requirements of the Bible of all rational significance. All these heresies the healthy instinct of orthodoxy has at once recognized as such. What is the relative position which *prayer* holds in the ethical life? and what is its true place in the organism of an ethical system? Daub places it last. Hirscher (the Catholic) places it first. Either is better than when Von Oettingen can find no proper place for it at all, but only gives it casual mention. And it is almost as bad when Rothe makes of it simply a *means* of virtue. But also Harless treats it in the same manner as Rothe. This is not the place which belongs to prayer. Wuttke describes prayer as embracing our entire ethical action toward God, so that it underlies our whole Christian ethical life; and with this view we (Hofmann) fully coincide. Among the eccentricities of Hofmann we cite simply this one: The relations of the persons of the holy Trinity to the Christian are such that we may and do pray either to the whole trinity as one God, or to the Father specifically, as also to Christ, but not to the Holy Ghost. To the latter we pray only as embraced in the collective Trinity.

Erinnerungen an Amalie von LASAULX, SCHWESTER AUGUSTINE, Oberin der Barmherzigen Schwestern am St. Johannis Hospital zu Bonn, Gotha: Perthes, 1878.

One of the most curious works sprung of the Old Catholic agitation. The scene lies just after the Vatican Council. It is the story of a noble *woman*, who, after a life of devoted service to the Romish Church, would *not* bow to the new decree of infallibility. And the woman was noble in all senses of the word. The favorite daughter of an aristocratic and gifted family of Southern Germany, the sight of the sufferings of the lower ranks of society led her to devote all her energies to the work of consolation and alleviation. While caring for the sick and dying in the hospital at Coblenz, she felt the need of being able to administer to them also spiritual consolation. This led to her own spiritual regeneration as a preparation thereto. Her life fills the space from 1815 to 1872. From her entrance into the cloister, in 1840, to the end, the story of her life is that of uninterrupted love to the bodies and souls of men. And for many years she was "mother superior," and thus she was enabled to infuse her own spirit into the labors of a numerous body of subordinates. Her high social position brought her into close relations to eminent artists, poets, and statesmen; while her deep piety and devotion to the Church made her the intimate friend of a whole generation of bishops, archbishops and other high prelates. Her life would then have been far from an ordinary one even had she lived on quietly in submission to her spiritual superiors, and departed in the odor of sanctity. But it receives an additional and almost tragic interest from the heroism with which she persistently refused to belie herself by submission to the new dogma of Papal infallibility. Rarely have we read more thrilling pages than the long closing chapter in which are reported the many, the persistent, the incessant endeavors of gifted priests and bishops to persuade her to at least passive acquiescence in the new decree. She would not, and did not, yield. And for this she was stripped, in her old age, of the garb of her order; and on her dying bed was refused the consolation of the sacraments; and, when dead, was denied a resting place in consecrated ground. The book of 372 large pages is deserving of a wide reading.

Erklärung der Glaubensartikel und Hauptlehren der Methodistenkirche. Von Dr. A. SULZBERGER. Bremen: C. H. Doering.

Dr. Sulzberger is not a new name to either German or American Methodism. His "Systematic Theology" has already taken its place of honor in our literature, and is now in the course of

study for our German preachers on both sides of the Atlantic. The present work is a very successful attempt to state and prove our articles of faith. It is not a catechism, but a brief treatment of our doctrinal basis. He unfurls the Methodist flag to the German critics without any hesitation. So he begins his work by giving a summary of the history of Methodism, and then proceeds to the treatment of our articles of faith. After a general statement of the doctrines, which our Church accepts in common with all evangelical Churches, he proceeds to prove the absurdity of purgatory and other discarded tenets, and closes with a strong defense of those doctrines which distinguish our Church from some other Protestant confessions, namely, the universal atonement, the new birth, the certainty of our acceptance with God, the witness of the Spirit, and Christian perfection. We rejoice at the appearance of this little work of two hundred pages. It will do vast good to our German and Swiss Church. Dr. Sulzberger excels in his power of definition and statement, and nowhere has he given better evidence of this rare quality than here.

Miscellaneous.

My College Days. By ROBERT TOMES. 16mo., pp. 211. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Mr. Tomes is a gentleman of sharp eye and nimble tongue. He draws portraits of folks which the same folks would not like to see. We do not say that he is a satirist; but he selects points in his victims' characters, the clear merry telling of which is very keen satire. He was pupil in Columbia Grammar School, and what an exhibit have we of Professor Anthon! He goes to Washington College, (now Trinity,) Hartford, and what a set of unanimous shams, college professors, real and titular, were not the whole lot! He goes to the Philadelphia Medical College, and finds that Professor Hare plays pyrotechnics, but imparts little chemistry to his class, and Gibson, the anatomist, is delighted to be "up to his elbows in blood." He goes to Edinburgh, and the real greatness of the men there is too real to allow any satire in truth-telling. On the whole, the book is more readable than commendable.

Biography of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D., late one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D. 12mo., pp. 447. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

We expect a full Review article on this work.

Greek Mythology Systematized. By S. A. SCULL. 12mo., pp. 397. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

This volume was prepared by the lady author as a book for pupils under her care, and is admirably adapted for its purposes. It is not a mere reproduction of old school manuals, but is written with independent thought and consultation of latest authorities.

Last Words and Old-Time Memories. Original and Compiled from the Most Authentic Records. By Rev. MAXWELL PIERSON GADDIS, Sen. With an Introduction by Bishop Randolph S. Foster, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 480. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

A series of brief biographies in alphabetic order of Methodist ministers, with especially their dying words. It is a dictionary of final triumphant testimonies from the hands of a venerated father.

The Student's Shakespeare. Thirty-seven Plays, Analyzed and Topically Arranged for the use of Clergymen, Lawyers, Students, etc. By HENRY J. FOX, D.D. 8vo., pp. 625. Boston: B. A. Fowler & Co. 1880.

Dr. Fox is a reveler in the best literature of our English language, and here brings us a choice specimen of his labors in that surpassingly rich field. It is a labor of love, and we doubt not thousands will accept his work with rich appreciation. It comes recommended by such master critics as Hudson and Parton, the latter of whom declares that "as a book of extracts, its equal cannot be found in any language."

The Expositor, August, 1880. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL COX. 1. The Outer and the Inner Glory, (Psalm xix;) by Rev. George Matheson, D.D. 2. New Testament Words Denoting "Care;" by Professor John Massie, M.A. 3. The Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible; by Rev. W. Sanday, D.D. 4. The Book of Job.—VIII. The Theophany. First Divine Remonstrance; by the Editor.

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History of the Administration of John De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland. By JAMES GEDDES. Vol. I, 1623-54. 8vo., pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Library Key: An Index of General Reading, Arranged by F. A. ARCHIBALD, A.M., with an Introduction by Rev. W. W. CASE. Small 8vo., pp. 202. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

George Bailey. A Tale of New York Mercantile Life. By OLIVER OLDBOY. 16mo., pp. 288. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Elements of Permanency in our National Institutions. An Address delivered before the Alumni of Hamilton College, at the Stone Church in Clinton, New York, on Wednesday Evening, June 23, 1880; by Theodore W. Dwight, Professor of Law in Columbia College Law School, New York. Published by Request of the Alumni. New York: Trow's Printing and Bookbinding Co. 1880.

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FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*. By his Daughter, LADY HOLLAND. With a Selection from his Letters, Edited by Mrs. AUSTIN, (Abridged and Rearranged.) 4to., pp. 87.—*Cast Up by the Sea*. By Sir SAMUEL W. BAKER, M.A., F.R.G.S. 4to., paper, pp. 61. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Thomas Moore, the Poet, his Life and Works. By ANDREW JAMES SYMINGTON, F.R.S.N.A. 16mo., pp. 255. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

White Wings. A Yachting Romance. By WILLIAM BLACK. 12mo., pp. 362. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Mary Anerley. A Yorkshire Tale. By R. D. BLACKMORE. 16mo., pp. 516. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. Family Edition. With a Complete Index of the whole work. Abridged and Edited by JAMES A. DEAN, D.D. In two volumes. 12mo., Vol. I, pp. 570. New York: Published for the Editor by Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

Christ Yet to Come: A Review of Dr. I. P. Warren's "Parousia of Christ." By Rev. JOSIAH LITCH. With an Introduction by Rev. A. J. GORDON, D.D. 12mo., pp. 192. Boston: American Millennial Association. 1880.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY: *Lord Byron*. By JOHN NICHOL. 12mo., pp. 212. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Sunday, 1880, Pictures and Pages for Young and Old. With upward of two hundred Illustrations by Eminent Artists. Square 8vo., pp. 412. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Methods of Teaching. A Hand-Book of Principles, Dictionaries, and Working Models for Common-School Teachers. By JOHN SWETT. 12mo., pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

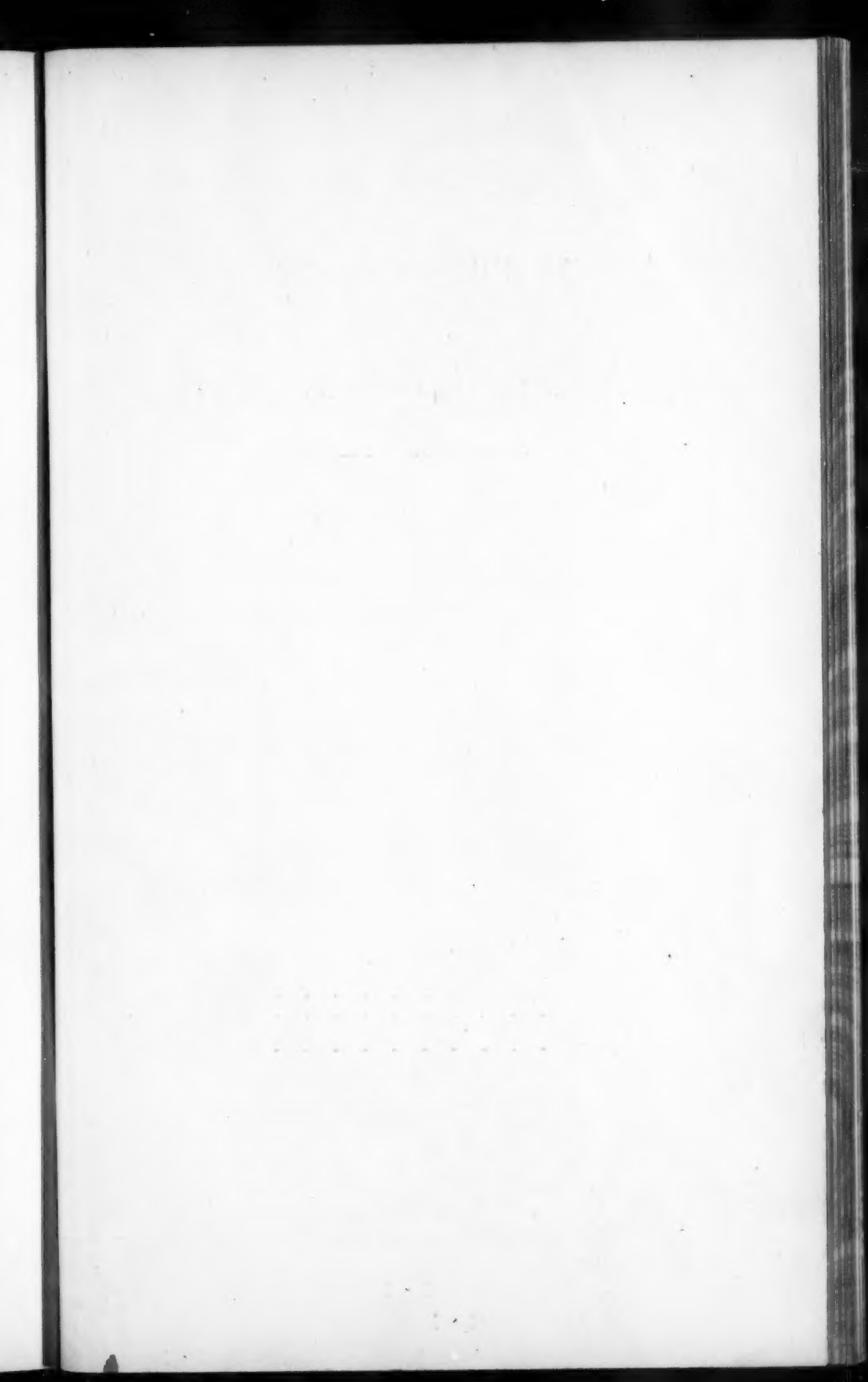
History of the English People. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A. Vol. IV. The Revolution, 1683-1760. Modern England, 1760-1815. 8vo., pp. 519. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Notices of the following books postponed to next Quarterly:

Symonds on Greek Poets, and Symonds' Southern Europe. Harpers.

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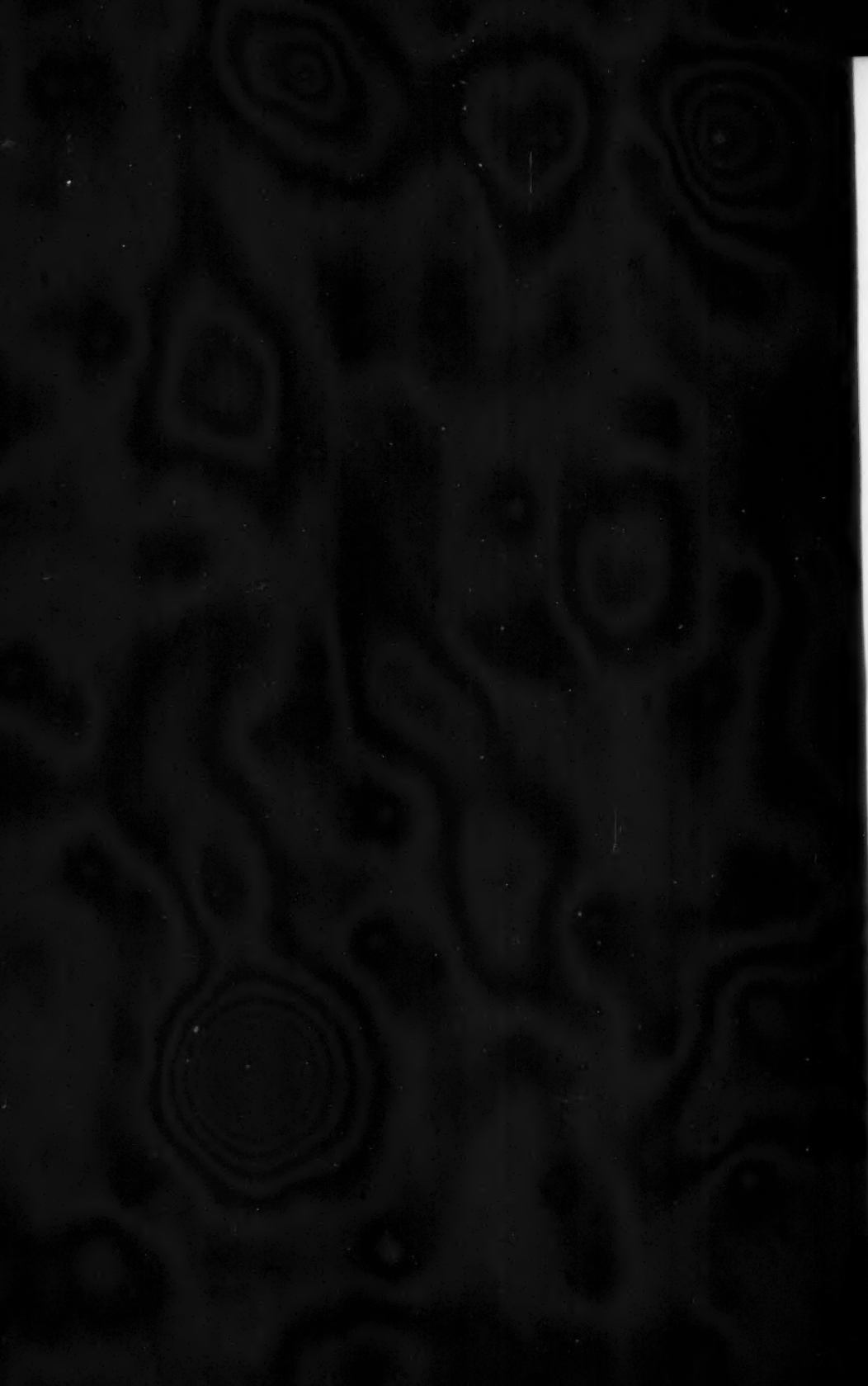
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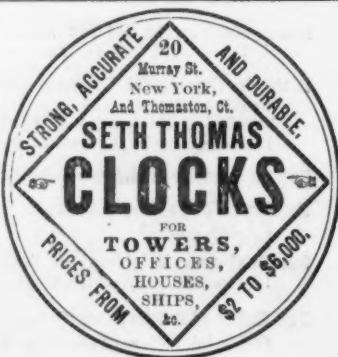
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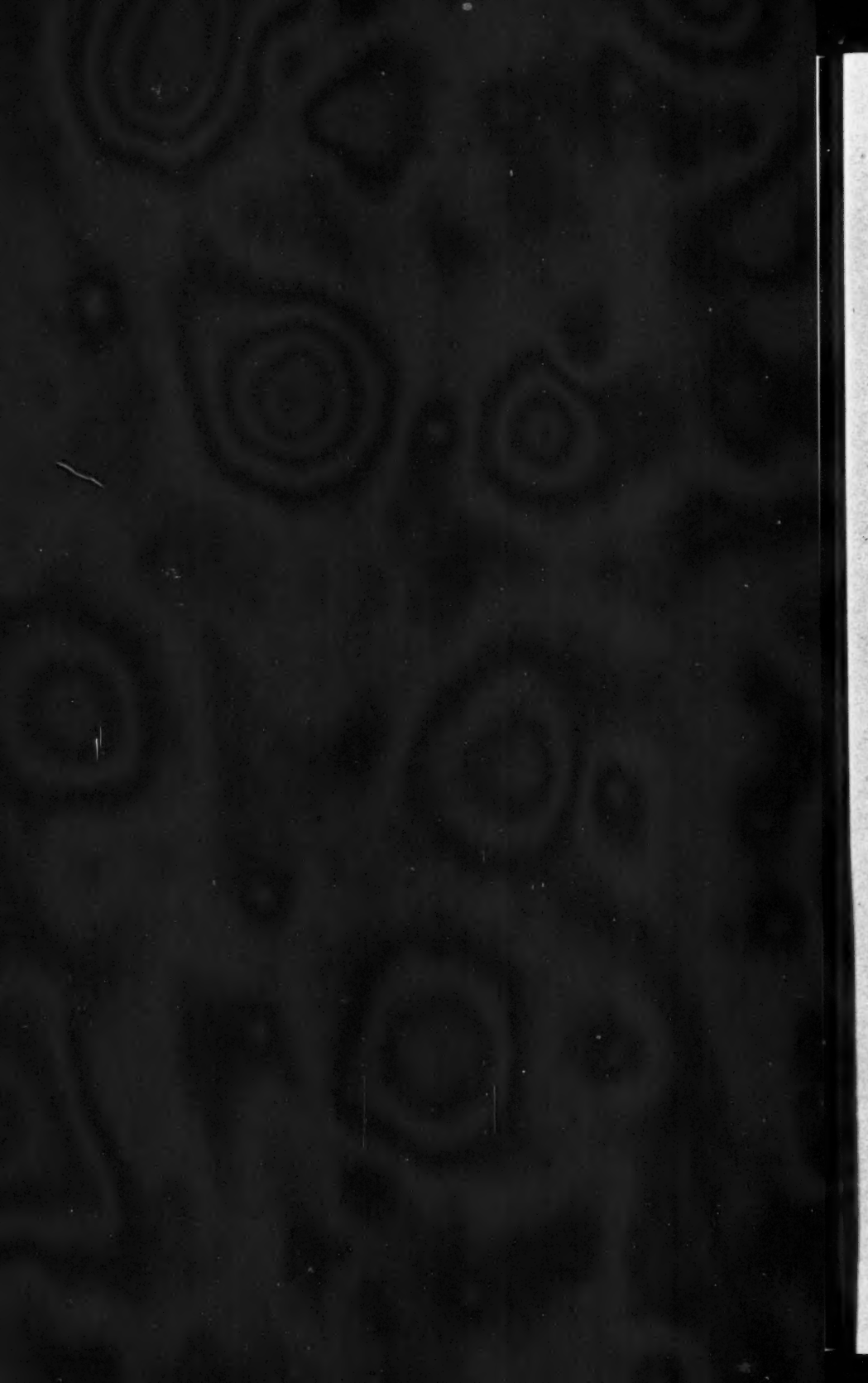
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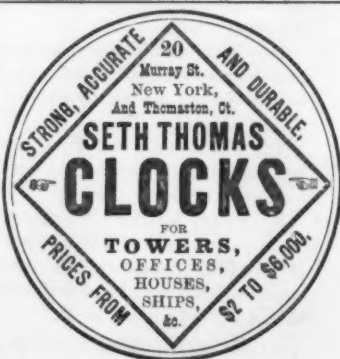
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